

*W. B. H. Labaree*  
*Presentation copy of author* *from the Author*  
THE  
SUBSTANCE  
OF THE  
EVIDENCE  
OF  
SUNDRY PERSONS  
ON THE  
SLAVE-TRADE,  
COLLECTED IN THE COURSE OF A TOUR  
MADE  
IN THE AUTUMN  
OF  
THE YEAR 1788.

---

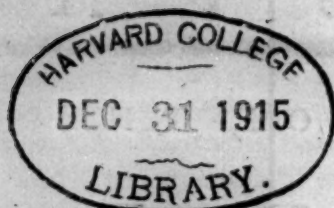
L O N D O N:

PRINTED BY JAMES PHILLIPS, GEORGE-YARD,  
LOMBARD-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXIX.

Afr 590.11F

2360 - 14



Bright fund

SEP - 7 1916



---

# P R E F A C E.

AS the Gentlemen, for whose perusal this volume is intended, may have many questions to ask relative to the methods used to obtain the information offered them, and to its authenticity, I shall endeavour to anticipate their wishes, by stating the beginning and progress of the evidence which it contains, and by accompanying it with a few remarks.

When the Committee of the Society, instituted in 1787, for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade had been formed, it struck them that one of the first steps to be taken was to obtain a body of information on that subject. For this purpose it was suggested, that some one of their members should visit the ports of Bristol and Liverpool; that he should reside there for a season, and that he should obtain such undeniable documents, as might appear necessary for the furtherance of their design. This step was stated to be peculiarly proper, and one of the first to be taken; for that as the merchants and planters had not then taken the alarm, nor entertained the smallest suspicion that so extensive, and, as was then judged, so important a trade could be shaken, a residence at the ports before mentioned would be then attended with less personal insult and hazard than afterwards, and that papers and other documents might be obtained, which could not easily be procured at a future time. The Committee having approved of the plan, came to a resolution accordingly, and it fell to my lot to undertake it.

In the month of June or July 1787 I set off, agreeably to their request, for the port of Bristol, and continued my route through such other places and ports as I judged it necessary to visit for the end proposed. On my return to London I deposited whatever I had collected in the office belonging to the Committee, and from these materials, and other respectable information, compiled an Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave-Trade.

But though the Committee thus became possessed of many important facts, of which the muster rolls of seamen and other authentick papers would have been deemed sufficient proof, yet, with respect to *vivâ voce* evidence, there were but few persons, had they been then called upon at the bar of the House of Commons, to appear.

Thus situated, it was their next object to establish a body of such evidence on the different points, which they then knew, if proved, would give a formidable blow to the continuance of the slave trade. This undertaking, at their requisition, again devolved upon me: the burthen was great, and the difficulties almost insurmountable. One, perhaps, amidst my inquiries, has been pointed out to me, as an eligible person: I have waited upon him in consequence, at the distance of many miles; he has been candid  
and

and open; has related scenes that would have affected the hardest heart; has been totally in favour of the cause; but, alas, he has been so unfortunately connected with merchants and others concerned in the trade, as not to have been able publickly to avow his abhorrence of it.—A second, in the medical line, has been pointed out. I have waited upon him also. His accounts have been similar to the former. But here has been another impediment. He has derived a part of his income from attending the families of such of the planters as have lived in his neighbourhood, and has therefore been unable to come forward, but with the prospect of loss. I have been informed of a third. He has opened to me scenes of horror, and has been both willing and anxious to divulge them. But his employment has been upon the sea, and when we were in hopes of deriving assistance from him, he has been obliged to leave us. These and other difficulties were continually in my way, and so numerous were my disappointments, and such the fatigue and constant agitation of my mind, that had not my own happiness become at length materially interwoven in the pursuit, I fear I should have been deterred from proceeding. The path of our opponents, on the other hand, was smooth and easy. They had no such obstacles to encounter. They had plenty of evidence on the spot. Their ships too were constantly coming in, so that new evidence could be had if necessary, evidence too of the latest date, and naturally attached to their employers.

Labouring then under these disadvantages, I was obliged to think of adopting in future some plan, that would insure us success; and on reflecting upon the subject, I came to the determination of visiting the different counties lying south of the Thames, from Kent to Cornwall. This I did for many reasons, but particularly because Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth (the three naval stations) were included in that space, and I knew that there could not be less than two or three hundred vessels in ordinary, besides guardships, lying there. I knew also that these were each divided into tens and twelves, and that over each division a gentleman was appointed to preside, who had the rank of master of a man of war; nor was I ignorant that every individual ship had its Warrant officer, boatswain, gunner, carpenter and cook, on board.

Among such a number then it was natural to expect that there would be many, who in the course of their lives had been to the coast of Africa and the West India islands, in either of which cases it was likely that some intelligence might be obtained; and from such I considered it to be respectable. The masters of the different divisions must have been, many of them, captains in the merchant's service, but being entrusted with so important a charge in his Majesty's service, as the care of a division, they were more than equal, in point of station, to any of the captains of slave vessels who might be brought against us. The gunners also I knew to have been such, as had been raised by their merit to that situation, either from mates of merchantmen, or midshipmen of men of war, that they were often made the companions of the lieutenants, that they were often entrusted with a watch, that great property in the articles of stores must have been committed to their care and accounted for, and that the evidence of such would be undeniable. With respect to the rest I was apprized that they were people of character; people, who in consequence of their merit only had been selected to serve in the different situations in which they were placed. These were certainly great advantages. But there were two others of particular weight. One of them was, that, if their evidence were necessary, they would be truly disinterested, as they would then be removed from the trade; that there would be no merchants to bias them; and that even if they had been injured in the employ, their resentment might have subsided.

Another



Another was, that if they were to be called upon, they were stationary, and would probably be forth coming at the time.

These circumstances I communicated with their full weight to the Committee, who requested me to prepare for another tour. In compliance with their requisition, I retired into the country for a few days, and drew up a table of queries, constructed in such a manner, as to comprehend every branch of the subject of inquiry, that it might be seen in its proper light. Having finished the table, I began my tour in the month of August, 1788.

Before, however, I proposed my queries to any one for a reply, I thought it proper to adopt certain resolutions as a guide, and on farther consideration came into those which follow:

First, To visit all promiscuously in the different vessels from whom I understood I could obtain any information on the subject, whatever might be their rank.

My second resolution was, to visit promiscuously such others, as I should meet with in the course of my tour.

My third was, to propose the same queries to all, and to put down with minuteness, their several replies, however they might militate against us.

Setting out then with these resolutions, I either proposed the table of queries myself, or occasioned it to be proposed, to all such as I met with or heard of, in the course of my tour; and from the answers of these is compiled the present work. It contains (besides anecdotes) the substance of the evidence of no less than twenty-two persons, either on the subject of the slave trade or the colonial slavery; no less than fifteen of whom are either captains of men of war, or masters, or gunners, or from their affluence and situation in life, men of respectability and credit. I am persuaded that the whole of it is disinterested and unbiassed; that the accounts are plain and perspicuous; that difficulties, heretofore irreconcilable, are removed; that customs are elucidated, and that it contains, in short, a regular and systematic history of the slave trade. It is however much to be lamented, that notwithstanding this is the most permanent evidence we could ever expect to find, yet one or two, even of those whose evidence is contained in the present collection, have been called away on his Majesty's service into foreign parts, a disadvantage, under which I fear, with all our exertions, we shall still continually labour.

It may perhaps be not unworthy of remark, that the whole of the evidence here offered, was collected in the space but of a few months; for if, under all the difficulties that have been mentioned, so many nefarious practices, as it will be found to contain, were discovered in so short a time, how inconceivably dreadful an account might have been made up, if but a year had been devoted by an individual to the inquiry without interruption, and he had met with no opposition in his pursuits.

But if this should strike the reader, and he should wonder that we have been able to gain so much, notwithstanding the combinations and threats of interest on the one hand, and the fear of persecution and ruin on the other, he will be still more surprized to hear, that what is now offered to his perusal is not perhaps half the evidence in the possession of the Committee, if that

that be included, which has been since procured by the exertions of a \* few other individuals; and that this may be considered but as the first volume which they have to offer upon the subject. Time, however, prevents a farther publication at present, and I am obliged to stop. Little more than four months has been allowed to reduce the contents of information, collected in the form of question and answer, into regular essays; during which time, I have been subject to a variety of avocations; have had an extensive correspondence to maintain; evidence to introduce to the Privy-Council; members of both houses to wait upon; my duty to attend as a Committee-man; and the affairs of others to settle, as well as my own. Nor have many others of the Committee had less employment. They have had their share in the undertaking, by means of a constant attention to the subject; by endeavouring, with unwearied assiduity, to dispel the doubts and prejudices of the uninformed, and to counteract the machinations of their opponents, by supporting a wide correspondence, and by circulating intelligence, not only through the three kingdoms, but through foreign parts, and by an almost unexampled attendance on those days, which were allotted for dispatching the business of the week; and to the whole only, acting firmly and unanimously as a body, is to be attributed the acquisition and dissemination of that knowledge, which is now in their possession.

London,  
Monday, 18th May, 1789.

THOMAS CLARKSON,

\* Belonging to the Committees established in various parts of the kingdom.



T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F  
S U N D R Y P E R S O N S  
O N T H E  
S L A V E - T R A D E.

---

No. I.

Taken from his own Papers, with Copies of several Depositions in the Cause of LIPPINCOTT, and others relating thereto.

Mr. ——— was Two Voyages in the ———, of London, to the Coast of Africa, for Slaves. He was Second Mate of the said Vessel. Of the First Voyage he has little or no Recollection. Of the Second he is enabled, from some remarkable Circumstances, to give a better Account.

Situation and Qualification of the relator to give evidence.

MR. ——— says, that in the year 1767, several vessels, including the ———, were lying in Old Calabar River. In this river were two towns, which were distinguished by the names of Old Town and New Town. The inhabitants of each had driven a considerable trade. It was a custom with them to send their canoes up the rivers with certain goods, and to bring down slaves. These slaves they either brought to the vessels in their own canoes, or desired that the ships boats might be sent for them. This was their usual mode of living; but it so happened at the time specified above, that a quarrel, for some reason or other, subsisted between them, and that an end in consequence of it was put to trade.

Quarrel between the Inhabitants of Old and New Town, Old Calabar, in the year 1767.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the captains of the different vessels, lying in Old Calabar River, united with the principal people of New Town in writing a letter to those of Old Town, before mentioned. In this letter they invited the people of Old Town to come on board. They appointed a day for the purpose; and the reason of the invitation so given was, that there was a wish that all disputes between the people of Old and New Town should be settled,

The English promising to compromise matters, the people of Old Town go on board their vessels.

and that such accommodation should take place. The people of Old Town, rejoicing at the contents of the letter, came on board at the appointed time. They came also unarmed. They dispersed themselves freely among the different ships. Several of them came on board the ———, but one trader, in particular, with a letter.

Treachery of  
the English  
Captains,  
and the car-  
nage among  
the people of  
Old Town  
on board the  
———

When the people of Old Town were thus securely on board, an union jack was hoisted at the mizen-top-mast-head of the Commodore. This was but a signal for the treachery that was to ensue, and the consequent slaughter that was to take place. Captain ———, of the ———, began immediately to realize it with his hanger. He struck and mangled one of the people of Old Town, that happened to come on board him, over the head, arms, and body in a manner impossible to be described. The unhappy man ran before him in this mutilated situation crying out and imploring mercy, till having passed about three steps from the quarter-deck he plunged himself headlong into the boys room. But here his oppression did not cease. He was ordered to be hauled up, to compleat his woe. The order was immediately obeyed, and his mangled body, from which the blood was profusely streaming, again made its appearance. The poor creature continued to beg his life. He had just strength, however, to make for the entering port, and to plunge himself headlong overboard. In this manner he avoided the end that was intended for him, though the remedy was as bad as the disease. The carnage, however, suffered no interruption from his escape, for several of the inhabitants of Old Town were killed on the starboard side of the quarter-deck. When no object for farther persecution remained, and the scene might be said to be closed, Captain ———, with one of the Chiefs of New Town, left the ———, and went on board the Commodore.

One of the  
Old Town  
people con-  
ceals him-  
self, but is  
found out.

The Captain had scarcely been gone, when a boy came to Mr. ———, and informed him, that there was a man behind the medicine chest, in the steerage. Mr. ——— accordingly followed the boy, and found his relation true. This man, to avoid the slaughter, had crept between the end of the chest and the side of the ship, a space of so little extent, that it would have been thought a difficult matter to have put a child in it. On being discovered, and on the chest being removed, he fell on his knees, and with uplifted hands, besought those that were about him, that they would not deliver him to the people of New Town. He was then brought upon the quarter-deck, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he was saved from being murdered. When he had been handcuffed, and his legs put into irons, he was carried into the room of the men slaves.

Is delivered  
into the  
hands of his  
enemies, and  
his head cut  
off.

Soon after the transaction had taken place, and the business had been thus settled, the Captain, in company with the Chief of New Town, before mentioned, returned on board. He was of course immediately made acquainted with what had happened. The Chief, in whose hearing the circumstance had been told, did not fail to avail himself of the news, and instantly promised the Captain, that he would give him the best slave in his canoe, and would save his vessel the first of those in the river, if he would consent to give up his newly discovered prisoner into his (the Chief of New Town's) hands. The Captain did not long deliberate upon the measure that was to be pursued by him in such a case. He first chose his man. He then ordered the unfortunate captive to be brought to the side of the vessel, and to be delivered from thence into the hands of his merciless enemies. His sentence was accordingly executed. The poor creature was put into a canoe, which was lying by the side of the ———, and his head was immediately struck off, amidst many shouts and acclamations of joy. This was the unfortunate man, who was mentioned to have come on board with a letter. The scene being now compleated, and the Chief having renewed his



his promise of slaving the ——— first, in consideration of the gratification received, he took his departure from the vessel.

When the ——— sailed from London, it was expected that she would not lie upon the Coast more than four months, instead of which she was detained there, according to the best of Mr. ———'s recollection, about twelve months and sixteen days: for the Chief of New Town did not perform his promise; and the remaining inhabitants of Old Town were either too much incensed, or too much upon their guard, to assist in slaving her. At the end, however, of the twelve months and sixteen days, now specified, about four hundred and ninety slaves were procured, with which the ——— left the coast. She was only about six weeks on the Middle Passage, in which time about one hundred and eighty were buried. These died principally of the flux. The ——— touched at Antigua to obtain some refreshment, and to land some of the sickly slaves, after which she proceeded to Porto Rico, the destined place of sale.

Mr. ——— says, that while the ——— lay at Porto Rico, several slaves from the neighbourhood came on board. They intreated that they might be kept in the vessel, and concealed. This circumstance was a strong proof to Mr. ———, that slaves were extremely ill used by their proprietors at Porto Rico, and in its environs; nor does he believe that they are at all better used in the British West Indian Islands, than in the part of the world now specified.

With respect to the seamen of the ———, in her second voyage, of which alone he has any just remembrance, he believes that they amounted to about thirty-two, and that five of them died in the said voyage.

Mr. ——— says also, that, during the Middle Passage, they were obliged to sleep in the long boat, without any other covering than they could get there. Some of them, on their arrival in the West Indies, solicited their discharges; and these were paid in the currency of the country.

The officers and people on board the ———, in consequence of so long a detention upon the coast, as has been explained before, as well as of the common system, adopted in the Guinea trade, were severely pinched by hunger. There were two fish days in the week, on each of which days but three stock fish were allowed to the people. On their meat days but twelve pounds of beef or pork were given to all of them collectively in twenty-four hours. Add to this, that there was no allowance of bread. Mr. ——— was the person, whose office it was to issue out goods for trade, and the Captain has often sent him a written order for six ounces of beef for the cabin, to serve four people. There was a plenty of yams on board at the same time, but there was no allowance, notwithstanding, of that article. Mr. ——— has only to add, that what has been hitherto said, may be depended upon as true. Were he to attempt to go farther into the subject, it could be by conjecture only, having lost his journal, and not having so clear a recollection of other points, as of those, which he has now stated. He is therefore desirous of declining to answer any other question, that may be put to him on the other branches of this subject.

As a Confirmation of the foregoing dreadful Transaction in Old Calabar River, and as a farther Explanation of it, the following are Copies of Depositions made by other Witnesses of the same.

The Depositions of William Floyd, of the City of Bristol, in England, Mariner, and Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, of Old Town, Old Calabar, on the Coast of Africa.

### IN THE KING'S BENCH.

The KING against LIPPINCOTT and Others.

Deposition of William Floyd. " WILLIAM FLOYD, of the City of Bristol, Mariner, maketh oath and faith, that he hath sailed out of the Port of Bristol, and been employed in the African trade, as mate and master of a vessel about twenty years.

English ships in Old Calabar River, in the year 1767. And this deponent also faith, that in the year 1767, he, this deponent, was chief mate of the merchant ship, called the Indian Queen, John Lewis, master; and faith, that some time in that year, the said ship was in the River of Old Calabar, on the Coast of Africa, with several other English ships, particularly the Duke of York, Capt. Bevan; the Nancy, Capt. Maxwell; the Concord, all of Bristol; the Edgar, Capt. Ambrose Lace, of Liverpool; and a ship belonging to London, commanded by one Capt. —.

Quarrel between the inhabitants of Old and New Town. The former go by invitation on board them. And this deponent also faith, that a quarrel having for some time subsisted between the inhabitants of Old Town, Old Calabar, and those of New Town, Old Calabar, the principal inhabitants of Old Town were invited on board the said English ships, then in the said river, by the respective Captains, under the pretence of the Captains of those ships using their utmost endeavours to put an end to the said quarrel between the inhabitants of the said two towns. And this deponent also faith, that on the faith and confidence of being protected by the said Captains and their crews, whilst on board their ships, about three or four hundred of the inhabitants of Old Town, Old Calabar aforesaid, came in ten canoes, first alongside the said ship Indian Queen, and afterwards the same evening went on board the said ship Edgar, Captain Lace, leaving three or four of their people on board the said ship Indian Queen, among whom the deponent recollects was one Amboe Robin John, brother of Ephraim Robin John, then a grandee, and afterwards the king of Old Town aforesaid. And this deponent also faith, that the next morning he observed on board the said ship Indian Queen, two other persons, inhabitants of Old Town aforesaid, who came on board by the aforesaid invitation, which two persons he well knew, having several times seen them before, one of whom was named Little Ephraim Robin John, and was another brother of the said grandee of Old Town aforesaid, and the other was named Ancona Robin Robin John. And this



this deponent also faith, that the same morning the said Amboe Robin John, Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, and others, belonging to their canoe, were dispatched by the said Captain Lewis with a letter on board the said ship Edgar, Captain Lace: And this deponent also faith, that the same morning he, this deponent, observed canoes going from the said ship Edgar, with several of the inhabitants of Old Town aforesaid, who were distributed on board the said several ships, then lying in the said rivers.

And this deponent also faith, that the same morning his commander, Captain Lewis, gave this deponent orders, that as soon as he, this deponent, should observe a jack at the mizen-top-mast-head of said ship Edgar, he, this deponent, should seize all the people of the Old Town, who were on board the said ship Indian Queen, and along-side of her in canoes; and this deponent also faith, that he this deponent, in obedience to the said orders, having for some time looked out for the said signal, but none appearing, he at length, to his great surprize, heard and saw a firing of small arms and wall-pieces from the said ship Duke of York, James Bevan, master, into a canoe then lying along-side of the said ship Duke of York (which canoe afterwards appeared to belong to the said Amboe Robin John, and his brother the said little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John) and presently afterwards this deponent observed the said canoe to fill, and several of the people belonging to her swimming in the water, and the rest being either killed or seized on board the said ship Duke of York (as this deponent afterwards heard and still verily believes.)

Firing from the Duke of York—, a canoe sunk—some of the people are killed, others seized, and others swimming in the water.

And this deponent also faith, that immediately upon the said firing, all the other ships then in the said river (except the Edgar of Liverpool, and Concord of Bristol) began likewise to fire on all the canoes belonging to Old Town aforesaid, and to seize the inhabitants: Nine of whom were seized on board the Indian Queen and along-side of her.

Firing from other ships, nine of the people seized.

And this deponent also faith, that during the said firing from the ships, he this deponent saw sundry of the inhabitants of New Town aforesaid (who this deponent believes were concerned in the said plot, who had lain concealed near the shore, behind the bushes, until the said firing began) coming from their hiding places in pursuit of the inhabitants of Old Town aforesaid, as had escaped from the ships. And this deponent saw several of the said ships boats join the inhabitants of New Town aforesaid in such pursuit.

The people of New Town, aided by the ships' boats, pursue the fugitives in the water.

And this deponent also faith, that after the firing was over, he saw many dead bodies in the said river, and on the sands: and he this deponent heard and believes, that about three hundred inhabitants of Old Town aforesaid (many of whom were principal men of the place) were, through the treachery of the English captains, either killed or made slaves of. And this deponent actually saw the aforesaid Amboe Robin John delivered over from on board the said ship Duke of York, to some of the inhabitants of New Town aforesaid, one of whom this deponent saw strike off his head in a canoe, along-side of the said ship Duke of York. And this deponent also faith, that six of the inhabitants of Old Town aforesaid were carried off the coast of Africa in the said ship Indian Queen: and this deponent hath heard and believes, that many others were likewise carried off the said coast by the Duke of York, and other ships there, and made slaves of in some of the islands and plantations in America.

300 of the inhabitants of Old Town killed or made slaves. Amboe Robin John delivered up to his enemies, and his head cut off.

And this deponent also saith, that since the said transaction, he this deponent hath made a voyage to Old Calabar aforesaid, as master of the said ship Indian Queen, and there heard from the said grandee Ephraim Robin John (who was then become king of Old Town aforesaid) that his brothers the aforesaid Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, were carried off the said coast by Captain James Bevan, in the Duke of York, soon after the inhabitants of Old Town aforesaid were attacked as before set forth: and the said king earnestly intreated this deponent to endeavour to find them out, and send them back to their home.

The deponent identifies the two brothers of Amboe Robin John on board the ship Brickdale at King Road.

And this deponent further saith, that on Sunday the 19th day of September, instant, he this deponent saw two men confined in irons on board the ship Brickdale, William Wood, master, then lying in Kingroad, in the port of Bristol, and hath twice seen them on shore, confined in prison within the City of Bristol, under the orders of Henry Lippincott, of the said city, Esquire, William Jones, of the same city, merchant, and the said William Wood, some or one of them (as this deponent hath heard and believes.) And this deponent saith, that he well knows the said two men, and is positive they are the same men he hath herein before described, by the names of Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, brothers to the said grandee, Ephraim Robin John, now or late king of Old Town, Old Calabar aforesaid, and free men of the said place.

WILLIAM FLOYD.

Sworn at the said City of Bristol,  
the 30th day of September, 1773.

Before

JACOB KIRBY (a Commissioner.)

#### IN the KING'S BENCH:

The people of Old Town go by invitation on board different English ships in Old Calabar River.

WE, Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, belonging to Old Town, Old Calabar, on the coast of Africa, believing in one God, the Creator of the world, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and that God is a rewarder of those who do well, and an avenger of those who do ill, do, according to the ceremonies used by us, and our people in our country, as far as our situation in this kingdom will admit, most solemnly swear, depose, and declare, that in or about the year 1767, there being a quarrel between the people of Old and New Town, Old Calabar, on the coast of Guinea (of which Old Town we were then free and principal inhabitants) that the masters of some of the English vessels then there, sent letters to our brother grandee Ephraim Robin John, to be shewn to all the principal traders of Old Town, as I Little Ephraim Robin John well know, having seen several of those letters; and as I Ancona Robin Robin John have been told and verily believe; which letters invited the said principal traders on board the English vessels, promising that they would endeavour to make up the quarrel, and in the mean time protect the people of Old Town; with which invitation they complied. And the principal inhabitants of Old Town went in ten canoes; and among the rest we Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, and our brother Amboe, with twenty-seven more in our canoe, went on board the Indian Queen, Captain Lewis, belonging to Bristol; and some of the people belonging to our canoe staid on board the said ship all night; and the next morning we, with our said brother Amboe, and the others in our said canoe, went



went on board the Edgar, Captain Lace, belonging to Liverpool; from which vessel we were sent with letters, one to Captain James Maxwell, of the ship Nancy, which we delivered, and then went with a letter to James Bevan, of the ship Duke of York, belonging to Bristol, having a letter to deliver to Captain Parks of the Canterbury, belonging to London.

And we, the said Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, do farther swear, say, and declare, that we with our said brother Amboe, (our other people staying in the canoe) went into the cabin, and delivered the letter to Captain Bevan, who gave us liquor to drink, and the said Captain Bevan went upon deck about some of the ship's business, as we thought, but we were deceived; for he soon came back to the cabin, attended by his mate and people, armed with pistols and cutlasses, threatening us with death if we made any resistance: And the said Captain Bevan thereupon called to his people upon deck to fire away; and instantly Captain Bevan's crew fired upon our people in the canoe; upon which our said brother Amboe endeavoured to escape out of the cabin, but was struck and cut by the said Captain Bevan and his officers, who gave him several cuts or wounds; when our brother Amboe put his two hands together, and cried out, "O, Captain Bevan, what fashion this for white men to kill a black man so?"—and begged for mercy.

And we, Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, endeavoured to escape out of the cabin windows, but were prevented by Captain Bevan and his people, and we were knocked down and greatly hurt by several blows from one of Captain Bevan's mates, whose name was Taylor, and we and our brother Amboe were confined in irons in the cabin.

And we, the said Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, do farther swear, say, and declare, that while we were confined in Captain Bevan's cabin, we heard a great firing of great guns and small arms from the other English ships in the river; and we heard, and believe, that several people of Old Town were killed in their canoes by the firing from the other English ships. And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that when Capt. Bevan's people first began to fire at our people in our canoe, not any of the people of New Town assisted the English Captains, or their people; nor did they, the people of New Town, (as we verily believe) come till after most of the canoes, belonging to Old Town, were sunk by the firing of the English ships, and many of the people of Old Town killed and left swimming in the water, when the people of New Town made their appearance.

And we farther swear, say, and declare, that after the firing was over, we heard Captain Bevan give orders to man his boat for him to go on board the Nancy, Captain Maxwell; and some time after Captain Bevan was gone on board the Nancy, an order in writing came by some of the people of New Town from Captain Bevan to Mr. Green, his chief mate, to deliver to the people of New Town our brother Amboe, and to put us, Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, in the fore part of the ship; and Mr. Green came into the cabin of the Duke of York, and told us that he had received such order, but had sent an answer back to Captain Bevan, that he would not deliver our brother Amboe to the New Town people, but that he, Captain Bevan must come himself: But Mr. Green did put us forward on the main deck, leaving our brother Amboe in the cabin.

And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that some time after we were put forward, Captain Bevan returned on board his ship, having in company a canoe of New Town people, belonging to one Willy Honesty; in which

canoe

cut off.  
Many dead  
bodies of the  
Old Town  
people are  
seen floating  
on the water

canoe we saw several of our people who were taken out of the water after they were fired upon by the other English ships as aforesaid; and upon Captain Bevan's return on board his ship, a slave (named Econg) belonging to our brother Amboe, was handed into the Duke of York by the said New Town people, and exchanged for our brother Amboe, who was put on board the New Town's people's canoe; and as our brother Amboe was going over the ship's side, he put his two hands together, and begged that Captain Bevan would not deliver him to the New Town people to be killed: but Captain Bevan did not regard his cries, but obliged him to go into the canoe, where his head was immediately cut off along-side Captain Bevan's vessel. And we farther swear, say, and declare, that for several days afterwards we saw many dead bodies swimming up and down the river of Old Calabar, and we believe them to have been some of the people of Old Town, as we saw the New Town people pick up some of their bodies, and cut off their heads.

Little  
Ephraim  
Robin John,  
and Ancona  
Robin Robin  
John, carried  
off, and sold  
in Dominica  
—enticed  
from thence,  
and sold  
again in  
Virginia.

And we farther swear, say, and declare, that we were kept on board Captain Bevan's ship, and were brought off the coast, and sold by the said Captain Bevan as slaves to a French doctor, in the Island of Dominica, after having been refused to be purchased by some English people there, to whom we told our unhappy case. And we farther swear, say, and declare, that we continued with the said Frenchman, at Dominica, about seven months, when one Captain Smith, master of a sloop, arrived at Dominica, and hearing who we were, and in what manner we were brought off the coast, came to us as we were washing ourselves by the water-side, and promised to carry us to our own country, in case our brother, who was a grandee, but since king of Old Town, Old Calabar, (as we heard and believe) would give him ten slaves; and desired us to run away from the said Frenchman, which we did, and got on board his sloop by means of a boat which the said Captain Smith was in himself; but, instead of carrying us to our own country, as he promised, and we expected, he carried us to Virginia, where he sold us as slaves to Mr. John Mitchell, a merchant, at Portsmouth, in Virginia.

Enticed from  
Virginia by  
Captain  
O'Neil, un-  
der a promise  
of taking  
them to  
Bristol, and  
of sending  
them from  
thence to  
their own  
country.

And we continued with the said Mr. Mitchell about five years; when Captain Terence O'Neil, who commanded a vessel, called the Greyhound, belonging to Bristol, arrived at Virginia, and had on board two black men from New Town, Old Calabar, who knew us, when in our own country, and we them, and they told Captain O'Neil who we were, and the manner of our being taken off the coast, as they told me, Little Ephraim Robin John, and as I the said Ancona Robin Robin John, do verily believe. And I the said Little Ephraim Robin John do swear, say, and declare, that the said Captain O'Neil sent the said black men to me, to meet him, the said Captain O'Neil, which I did, and he then promised to pay the said Mr. Mitchell what he should demand for me, and that he would carry me to my country; but upon meeting the said Captain O'Neil soon after, (in company with the doctor of his the said Captain O'Neil's vessel) he said he could not then pay for me, having no money, but said I had better make my escape from Mr. Mitchell, and come on board his ship: upon which I the said Little Ephraim Robin John told him, that I could not leave my brother Ancona behind: he then desired that I would acquaint my brother with what he had told me, and that we should both contrive to make our escape in the night, which we did: And I the said Little Ephraim Robin John do farther swear, say, and declare, that the said Captain O'Neil did know of our escape from Mr. Mitchell, of Virginia, and before we sailed from thence: And we the said Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, do farther swear, say, and declare, that the said Capt. O'Neil promised to carry us first to Bristol, (to which place he was bound) and that he would then carry or send us to our own country.

And



And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that a day or two after we first came on board the said ship Greyhound, the doctor of the said ship told us that Captain O' Neil had ordered him to tell us not to come upon deck till we had left the coast of Virginia, so that we might not be discovered; and we were informed that Captain O'Neill had ordered his cooper to open the head of a large cask, that if any should come on board we might hide therein, and to stow us away in the hold, if any search should be made for us on board before we left Virginia. And we further swear, say, and declare, that after the said ship had left Virginia about two days, and we were out of danger of a discovery, we appeared publickly on board, and were each of us put to work by the said Captain O' Neil all the passage home, one in each watch.

And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that the said Captain O' Neil, when we were at sea, desired that we would not, when we arrived at Bristol, go to Mr. Thomas Jones of Bristol, Merchant (a friend of our brother Ephraim Robin John, now as we have heard and believe king of Old Town, Old Calabar) saying, that the said Mr. Jones would keep us till he was paid all that was due to him in Old Town, Old Calabar. And we further swear, say, and declare, that the said Captain O'Neill brought us to the port of Bristol, and, as we have heard, thinking that he had acted wrong in bringing us from Virginia, intended to have sent us back to Mr. Mitchell, instead of our own country, as he promised when he brought us from Virginia. And we farther swear, say, and declare, that when we came to Kingroad, we expected the said Captain O' Neil would have carried us up to the city of Bristol, for the purpose of carrying or sending us in some ship bound from thence to our country, according to his promises; but instead thereof he desired us to stay on board till his ship (on board which we then were) came up to Bristol, which we then thought best, but afterwards the said Captain O' Neil deceived us, and ordered us as we believe, for we were put on board a ship called the Brickdale, Captain Wood, then in Kingroad, bound for Virginia, in order to send us back to Virginia.

Arrive at  
Kingroad,  
but Captain  
O'Neil,  
fearful of the  
consequences  
of having  
enticed them  
away, puts  
them on  
board the  
Brickdale,  
to send them  
back to  
Virginia.

And we the said Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, do farther swear, say, and declare, that the people of New Town, Calabar, so far from supposing that they had any right of conquest over the free people of Old Town by means of the treachery and wicked conduct of the English Captains, who had killed many of the free and principal people of Old Town, and by deceit got some of the principal people of Old Town into their power, and afterwards detained them by force, that before the said Captain Bevan delivered our brother Amboe to the people of New Town to be killed, they gave him the said Captain Bevan, in exchange for our brother Amboe, a slave (named Econg) who belonged to our brother Amboe, as we have before mentioned; and whom the people of New Town picked up swimming in the water, after the canoe which we was in was sunk, as we have heard and verily believe. And the said Captain Bevan knowing that he had acted wrong, and fearing, as we verily believe, that he might afterwards here in his own country be called to account for the life of a principal person of Old Town, if killed on board his ship, he the said Captain Bevan would not suffer the people of New Town to kill him on board his ship, but delivered him over into one of their own canoes, where his head was struck off along-side Captain Bevan's ship, as before mentioned.

C

And

And

Believe that the English Captains were bribed by the people of New Town, to commit the outrage in Old Calabar River.

And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that when we first went on board Captain Bevan's ship, we were free people, and no ways subject to the people of New Town; nor had they any right or power over us; nor were we conquered in fight or battle, or taken prisoners by them; nor had they any right to sell us. And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that we went on board Captain Bevan's ship voluntarily for protection, in consequence of the invitation from the English Captains, as we had gone before on board the Indian Queen, the Edgar, and the Nancy. And we verily believe, that if the said Captain Bevan gave the people of New Town any thing under pretence of paying for us, it was only a false pretence, and done to hide his own fraud, and bad actions. And we have great reason to believe, that the said Captain Bevan, and others of the English Captains, who assisted in killing our people, and taking us, had some Dasher or reward from the people of New Town for their treachery.

The Captains, fearing the consequences, send some of the captives on shore.

And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that Captain Lewis, of Bristol, then Master of the Indian Queen, had, after the killing of our people, three of the principal men of Old Town, whom he had detained on board his ship; and that fearing (as we verily believe) the bad consequences of taking them away, he did, just as he was ready to sail from the coast, put them on shore at Old Town, and left them there, as we were told and verily believe. And we do farther swear, say, and declare, that after the killing of our people, and detaining us, and other of the people of Old Town, the said Captain Bevan, and several other of the English Captains, who had detained some of our people, and afterwards carried them away, met on board the Edgar, Captain Lace, before they left the river of Old Calabar; and there (as Mr. Green, the Chief Mate of the Duke of York, told us) Captain Lace made them promise not to deliver any of the free people of Old Town to the people of New Town.

The quarrel between the inhabitants of Old and New Town was but a slight difference, which occasioned no animosity between either party, till blown into a flame by the English captains.

And we do further swear, say, and declare, that when the said ship Duke of York, was going to sail off the coast, Mr. Green asked Captain Bevan, (as Mr. Green, who appeared to be our friend, told us) what he Captain Bevan intended to do with us: and that he Mr. Green had advised Captain Bevan to put us on shore; but that Captain Bevan would give him no answer. And we farther swear, say, and declare, that we had not done any thing to forfeit our liberty; or had the people of New Town any right to or power over us; nor had the English captains (as we understood and verily believe) any right to assist the people of New Town, if they and the people of Old Town had been actually engaged in fight or battle, whilst the English captains were present. But we do swear, say, and declare, that there was not any war between the people of New Town and the people of Old Town, but only a quarrel or dispute about trade, which never occasioned any fighting. For some of the common people of each town did, during such quarrels or dispute, often meet at each other's town, and eat and drink together. And even the night before we were stopped and fired upon by Captain Bevan and his people, some of the principal traders of Old Town and New Town (among whom was our brother grandee Ephraim Robin John) met on board one of the English ships, and supped together very peaceably; and our brother grandee Ephraim Robin John did that night give to the aforesaid Willy Honesty (one of the traders of New Town) for a wife, one of his, the said grandee Ephraim Robin John's favourite women, to shew his desire of making up all quarrels and disputes.

(Signed)

Little Ephraim Robin John,  
Ancona Robin Robin John.

WE



WE Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, whose names are hereunto, and to the within contents subscribed, believing in one God as the Creator of the world, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, and that God is a rewarder of them that do well, and an avenger of those who do ill, do severally and respectively most solemnly swear, say, and declare, in the presence of God, that the contents of our affidavit, deposition, and declaration, within contained, and by us within respectively deposited unto, are true to the best of our respective knowledge, remembrance and belief. So help us God.

(Signed)

Little Ephraim Robin John,  
Ancona Robin Robin John.

I THOMAS SYMONS, of the City of Bristol, Gentleman, a commissioner for taking affidavits in his Majesty's Court of King's-Bench, do most humbly certify to the said court, that on this ninth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, at the city of Bristol aforesaid, came the above named Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John, (two Africans) before me as such Commissioner, and they did then and there acknowledge before me, that they did believe in one God, as Creator of the world, and in a future state of rewards and punishments; and that God is the rewarder of those who do well, and the avenger of those who do ill. And I did then and there explain fully unto them, the nature of the oath above written, and they did then and there, before me, solemnly swear, say, and declare, as is above in the said oath expressed. And they did then and there each of them, put his right hand to his mouth, and then to his breast, and each of them did then and there put his right hand to the mouth and to the breast of the other respectively; which manner of swearing is the nearest to the ceremony used in their own country, in giving an account of, and swearing to the truth of any transaction, which they would in their own country make use of, as I then and there understood from their explanation thereof. And I did then and there to each of them pronounce the words, "So help you God," and explained to them the meaning and intent thereof. And they did then and there sign the above mentioned oath in my presence.

Certificate  
of Thomas  
Symons, of  
Bristol,  
relative to  
the last  
deposition.

(Signed)

THOMAS SYMONS.

THE

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken down in his own Presence,  
And corrected by another personal Interview with him there.

---

No. II.

**M**R. ——— was three voyages to the coast of Africa for slaves; the first in the ———, Captain ———, in or about the year 1764; the second in the ———, Captain ———, in or about the year 1766; and the third in the ———, Captain ———, in or about the year 1768. All these were from the port of Bristol, and were bound either to Bonny or Calabar. Whatever Mr. ——— can clearly recollect of the first two voyages, he will mention, though he wishes to confine himself to the last, in which he was third mate.

No. II.  
Africans, at  
Bonny and  
Calabar, are  
reduced to  
slavery by  
war.  
Piratical  
expeditions  
constitute  
what is  
termed war  
in these  
parts.

Some of the slaves sold to the Europeans, are such as are termed prisoners of war. When the ——— was lying in the year 1764 in Bonny River, several of the large war canoes came from the inland country with captives. Some heads, which had been cut off from the slain, were stuck upon poles as trophies. The conquerors came in triumph by the side of the English vessels, and afterwards landed their prisoners to make them ready for sale. Whether the people that returned with slaves, had gone out for the sake of revenging an injury, or on purpose to rob, Mr. ——— is not able to say, but he should apprehend that what is generally termed a war, is nothing less than a piratical expedition, made for the purpose of stealing and carrying off the unwary. For the black traders and canoe boys have frequently boasted in his presence, that they have been upon such expeditions, and that one of the ways of procuring slaves at Bonny and Calabar was to go into the inland country, and take off private families by surprise.

That



That fraud and treachery constitute another of the means of obtaining slaves is a fact which Mr. ——— can testify of his own knowledge. The white traders give the kings, in whose territories they intend to slave, what is called a *Dash*, (i. e.) a present for permission to break trade. The black traders on the other hand pay for every slave they ship on board a certain custom or tax. It so happened, while the ——— was at Calabar, that a trading man had brought from the inland country two slaves. These he wanted to sell, but was desirous of avoiding, if possible, to pay the before-mentioned tax or duty to the king. Another trader, who became acquainted with his wishes, undertook to manage the business for him. He desired him to bring his two slaves down to the water-side at night, that he might get them on board unseen, and to attend them himself to the vessel, that he might receive their value. His advice was embraced and followed; they were all conveyed to the ———, when the trader, who undertook to smuggle the two slaves on board, pulled off the mask, and not only sold them, but their master also. These, and other frauds of a similar nature, are, Mr. ——— believes, constantly practised to make slaves, nor do the Europeans make any scruple to receive such, as they know to have been trepanned in this manner.

By treachery and fraud a trader and his two slaves trepanned at Calabar and sold.

Mr. ——— is the more confirmed in his opinion, that fraud and surprise are the foundation of slavery, because he has repeatedly conversed with the negroes in the West Indies, who have told him that they were taken away from their country in this manner. One girl in particular, when he was in Jamaica in the year 1778 or 1779, informed him, that she and her father and mother, had been thieved by the inland traders, and that her father had been sold on board a ship, different from that to which she and her mother had been consigned.

Slaves declare they had been kidnapped.

Mr. ——— has heard from the traders, and canoe boys of Bonny and Calabar, that some of the slaves, sold to the Europeans, are such as have become so in consequence of debt, and others in consequence of crimes. The great bulk of them, however, by the confession of the same people, were such as had been taken in piratical excursions, or by treachery and surprise, and from what he knows of the trade, he believes their assertions to be true.

Debts and crimes source of slavery at Calabar and Bonny.

Though Mr. ——— is not able of his own knowledge to say, that the whites are guilty of similar depredations, yet he believes it to be true: for he has repeatedly heard the officers of Guinea-men boast of having been dexterous in performing such exploits, while they were running down the Windward Coast.

Officers of Guineamen boast of having stolen the natives.

The black traders of Bonny and Calabar, who are very expert at reckoning, and talking the different languages of their own country, and those of the Europeans, come down about once a fortnight with slaves. Thursday or Friday is generally their trading day. Twenty or thirty canoes, sometimes more and sometimes less, come down at a time. In each canoe may be about twenty or thirty slaves. The arms of some of them are tied behind their backs with twigs, canes, or other ligaments of the country, and if they happen to be stronger than common, they are pinioned above the knee also. In this situation they are thrown into the bottom of the canoe, where they lie in great pain, and often almost covered with water. On their landing they are taken to the trader's houses, where they are oiled, fed, and made up for sale.

Method of bringing down slaves at Bonny and Calabar.

D

When

Are examined—the sickly refused—look dejected, when brought on board—the men are put in irons.

When they have been sufficiently prepared, the Captain and Doctor generally go together to examine them, and to make their purchases there. No sickly slave is ever purchased; at least in the three voyages which Mr. — made it was never done. When the bargain is made they are brought away. This is generally in the close of the evening. Forty or fifty of them are brought away at a time, sometimes in the canoes of the traders, and at other times in the ships boats: they appear to be very dejected when brought on board: the men are put into irons, in which situation they remain during the whole of the Middle Passage.

Height of their rooms on board the ———. Miserable situation in consequence of heat—ventilators—Burthen of the ship—Number of the slaves on board.

On board the ——— the height between decks was about five feet and an half, within which space there was a platform; no slave whatever had room to turn himself when the cargo was completed. The chief mate, boatswain, and an active young man, were employed in stowing or packing them together; such as adjusting their arms and legs, and prescribing a fixed place for each. To accommodate them, there were two ventilators on board, notwithstanding which their rooms were so hot and intolerable, that they were continually crying out for water. They generally came upon deck in a sweat, they were stowed so thick, that it was impossible for any to have the least advantage from or come to the gratings, but those immediately below them. The ——— was of the burthen of about 280 tons, and about 450 slaves were purchased and put on board her.

Times and nature of meals—compelled to dance—length of the Middle Passage.

The slaves are generally brought upon deck about eight o'clock in the morning, and put below at five in the afternoon. Their food consists of rice, horsebeans, and yams. They are fed twice in the day, namely at ten in the morning, and four in the afternoon. They are also served twice with water, which is given them in a pannekin of tin, of such dimensions as not to hold quite half a pint: while they are upon deck, it is thought necessary that they should take exercise, for which purpose the chief mate and boatswain are stationed with a cat-of-nine-tails, to compel them to dance, as it is called. This is their daily history for the whole of the Middle Passage, which in general is from eight to twelve weeks.

In speaking of water and provisions, and the Middle Passage, Mr. — cannot help mentioning a circumstance which fell within his own knowledge, as it is always likely to happen, either if the passage should be long, or if the Captains of Guinea-men should either ignorantly or wilfully miss their way.

Captains of two Liverpool vessels being distressed for provisions, determine to throw their slaves overboard, but are prevented.

In the year 1779, being Master of the — Sloop of War, and coming from the Bay of Honduras to Jamaica, he fell in, off the Isle of Pines, with two Liverpool Guinea-men on the Middle Passage, commanded by Captains Ringmaiden and Jackson, who had very imprudently (but whether wilfully or not he cannot say) missed the Island of Jamaica. Captain — gave them chase, and came up with them. Mr. —, upon boarding them, found them in great distress, both in point of provisions and water. He asked the Captains (for both of them were then on board of one ship) why they did not go into the watering-place, at the end of the Isle of Pines, near Cuba. They replied, that, "they had attempted to get in, but got into " shoal water." He then asked them what they had intended to have done with their slaves, if they had not fallen in with the —. They replied, "to make them walk the plank," (i. e.) to jump overboard. Mr. — asked them again, why they did not turn a number of the slaves on shore at the Isle of Pines, and endeavour to save the rest. They replied again, that, "in such case, they would not have recovered the insurance, and that " the rest would have gotten on shore." After this conversation had taken place,



place, Captain ——— relieved them with oatmeal, pease, and water. The next day the Hound fell in with a vessel, bound for Carthage to the Havannah, from which Captain ——— got one hundred pieces of jirked beef, with some yams, plantains, and fowls, all of which were immediately sent to their relief. The ——— convoyed them afterwards as high up as Carman Brake, and made them bear away for the grand Caymans, where they were supplied with yams, and other articles, and where Capt. ——— left them.

Mr. ——— says, that the situation of the Africans, when torn from their country and connections, is to them so very intolerable and grievous, that they will do any thing to extricate themselves from it. On board the ——— was a woman who refused sustenance. She fretted herself so much as to discover marks of insanity, and she contrived to throw herself overboard on the Middle Passage.

A woman  
slave  
becomes  
insane,  
and throws  
herself  
overboard.

It is not unusual also for the slaves to attempt to rise. A Liverpool vessel was cut off by them in New Calabar River, and they got on shore. Several of them, who were retaken, were sold on board the ———; for the ——— came into that river only about three weeks after the transaction happened. In the three voyages, however, which Mr. ——— made, there were no attempts of the kind, for on board the ———, ———, and ———, the people, were always remarkably vigilant, and well prepared. As soon as the bulk-head was built, and any of the slaves were on board, they had loop-holes with musquetry near them, as well as port-holes for a four-pounder on each side, loaded with a cannister of musket balls, to rake the main-deck, if there should be any occasion for it.

Slaves  
rise and cut  
off a Liver-  
pool vessel.  
Usual pre-  
parations  
against such  
attempts.

Mr. ——— has seen relations on board the same ship. In the ——— a young woman had been complaining, that her father had been brought on board at the same time, but that she had never seen him since. This was occasioned by the large bulk-head across the ship, which made it difficult for the one to see the other. On coming however into St. Kitt's, when all the slaves were upon deck, she looked about for her father, and espied him first. Her sensations on this occasion were not easy to be described. She went towards him in raptures, but, considering her situation, was checked by fear, not knowing whether she would be permitted to go to him or not. Such scenes are frequently to be found in the slave vessels.

Relations in  
the same  
ship.  
Instance in  
the ———

The loss of the slaves, from the time of their coming on board, to the disposal of them in the West Indies, is often very severe. This was the case on board the ———. A young girl slave had been purchased, when about three hundred and twenty had been put on board. This girl brought with her the small-pox. The Captain, on discovering the disorder, hid her in an empty water puncheon in the hold, lest the black traders, finding it out, should be deterred from visiting the vessel, and completing the number of her slaves. The disorder, however, notwithstanding the care that was taken, began to spread, and in such a manner, that it could no longer be concealed. In this situation the ——— was obliged to leave the River Calabar, with 450 only, though she had been fitted out for the purchase and reception of 500 slaves. As soon as she was clear of the river, a general inoculation took place. The infection, however, still spread, and the situation of the slaves became such, as no pen or language is able to describe. The sick births were incapable of containing all that were ill. Those only could be admitted into them who were so bad as not to be capable of moving. There they lay in one mass of scab and corruption, frequently sticking to each other, and to the decks, till they were separated

A girl slave  
brings the  
small pox  
into the —  
dreadful  
situation of  
the slaves in  
consequence  
of it —  
Number  
purchased  
and lost.

to

No care  
taken to  
prevent a se-  
paration of  
relations at  
the time of  
sale.

to be thrown into the sea. Six, eight, and ten were thrown overboard in a morning, from different parts of the ship. The mortality at length became so great, that out of four hundred and fifty purchased, two hundred and thirty were lost, before the contagion could be made to cease.

Slaves sold  
by scramble.

When slaves are brought to market, it is never considered whether relations are separated or not: the only consideration is, how those who have the disposal of them shall sell them best. When the ——— arrived at St. Kitts, her slaves were taken to a court yard, and sold there by scramble. There were several sick and meager slaves left after the scramble. These were put up at vendue, and sold to the best bidder.

Method of  
procuring  
seamen for  
the Slave  
trade.

Mr. ——— is of opinion, that seamen in general have a great aversion to the slave trade. They are in general procured by crimps, who are so constantly on the look-out, that a strange sailor is almost sure to fall into their trap. These get them into debt, and then put them into gaol, from which there is no escape but in the hold of a Guinea-man. There were several on board the ——— of this description.

Nature and  
quantity of  
their food—  
use the gun-  
barrel to get  
their water.

The seamen in the slave trade are very ill used in point of provision and water, as well as in other ways. While they are at home and in port they have plenty to eat and drink, but they are very soon afterwards put to allowance. In the ———, as well as in the ———, they were allowed but five pounds of bread per week, and the little beef that was given them, was either excessively bad in itself or damaged. They had neither pease nor flour; the water too, which they took to quench their thirst, was obliged to be sucked through the barrel of a gun, which was placed in the maintop. In the ———, however, the treatment was rather better; the people were allowed flour and pease, but the gun-barrel was equally in use as in the former two.

Have  
no shelter—  
no care taken  
of them when  
ill—are paid  
at the port  
of delivery  
in currency  
instead of  
sterling.

Another hardship, which the seamen experience, is a want of shelter. They are never permitted on any pretence between decks. They are obliged to sleep in the tops, or in the long-boat, or wherever they can get, except under the booms, and this without covering and in the cold. If they become sick in consequence of it, no care is taken of them, no spirits allowed to refresh them, but they are perhaps beaten for their laziness. On their arrival in the West Indies, there is this additional hardship, that after a voyage of incredible hardship and fatigue, they are obliged to take half the wages then due to them in currency, instead of sterling.

Are  
extremely ill  
used—  
Case of the  
cook of the  
——.

The treatment, which the seamen experience in the slave vessels, in point of corporal punishment, is not easy either to be credited or described. They are kicked and beaten about, if, worn out with fatigue, they should chance to drop asleep on the gratings. Almost every occurrence is turned into a pretence for punishment. An instance of the severity of it may be the following: A black seaman had shipped himself at Bristol as cook of the ———. Captain ——— and the surgeon were guilty of great outrages on the person of this unfortunate man. They beat and bruised him with hand-spikes: they struck him also repeatedly with the rice-stir, (an instrument as thick as the former, and used for the purpose of stirring the rice for the slaves). They, moreover, compelled him to work at the copper in chains. The treatment on board the ——— was not more favourable. In short, the Captains of Guinea-men are tolerable on their first sailing. Their cruelty begins to shew itself on their arrival upon the coast, but after they have been there a little time, it has no bounds.

Mr.



Mr. ——— considers the slave trade as the grave of our marine. In the **Loss of sea-**  
 ——— twenty-five seamen went out, but only eight or nine returned **men in the**  
 with the vessel. Among those, that are set adrift in the West Indies, is a **Methods**  
 considerable loss, independently of that sustained on board the vessels. **used by**  
 When the slaves are sold, the seamen receive their half-pay. Such as are **Guinea**  
 lame or sick, have permission to go on shore, and if they should stay there **Captains to**  
 more than forty-eight hours (which it is reasonable to suppose would be the **get rid of**  
 case after so fatiguing a voyage) they are refused admittance on board. **their crews**  
 This is the method taken by the Guinea Captains to get rid of an ulcerated **in the West**  
 and infectious crew. The poor people soon consume their little pay, and **Indies.**  
 are then in such a distempered state, that no West Indiaman will take them **Situation of**  
 in. Mr. ——— has seen many all over Jamaica in this situation. They lie **such as are**  
 about the wharfs begging a mouthful of victuals from other seamen, and **put adrift**  
 hence they are termed wharfingers. Some of them are taken in by the **there.**  
 negroe women, out of compassion, and are healed in time. Others, how-  
 ever, die in the greatest misery, of hunger and disease, and are buried out  
 of charity, by the same people.

E

THE

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from a Personal Interview with him both at  
\_\_\_\_\_ and in London.

No. III.

No. III.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. \_\_\_\_\_ was two voyages in the slave trade from the port of Liverpool, one in the brig \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, and the other in the snow \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_ during (he believes) the years 1767, 1768, 1769; and another to the same coast for wood and other articles in the year 1770, from New-York to Gaboon River.

The great  
bulk of the  
slaves at  
Gaboon  
procured  
by the king's  
military by  
surprize.  
These go out  
armed, but  
take no goods  
with them.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ is of opinion that many of the negroes, who are sold as slaves, become so by means of treachery and force. His opinion in this respect is founded upon the following circumstances.

When Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was up the River Gaboon, about twenty-five miles above Parrot Island, he has seen King Abraham's people with their war dresses on, going out in bodies of eight, ten, and fourteen at a time, for the purpose (as he was then informed, and as every body understood) to way-lay and take the negroes in another quarter. These people were accustomed to go out with muskets and lances, but they had no goods with which they could purchase slaves. They were often absent for ten days or a fortnight at a time. Sometimes they would bring in five or six captives, at other times more, and at others less. The people so brought down exhibited marks of the greatest grief.



All this he has seen, and he has moreover been informed by the traders themselves, that the natives were made slaves of in this manner. Traders confirm the fact.

When Mr. ——— sailed from New-York to Gaboon in the year 1770, there was on board his vessel, as a passenger, the son of one of the Kings of a district on that river. This youth had been twelve months at New-York for education, and was then returning home. He was constantly saying how they made slaves of the negroes in his part of the country, and that if he should be so fortunate as to find a vessel in that river trading for slaves, he would soon become a great man, for he would arm his father's people, and send them on such an errand as that which has been just described.

Mr. ——— has also heard from the slaves on board, who had been inhabitants of the banks of Gaboon river, that they had been taken by surprise in the night, and then brought down by the captors to the ship. Slaves declare they had been so taken.

He says farther, that in a former voyage on board the ———, when at Annamaboe, there was a young lad of the name of Cuffie, who had been put on board as a pawn. This lad spoke the English language, so as easily to be understood. He informed Mr. ——— that the people of the shore were accustomed to go to the inland country with muskets and lances, and catch all they could, and bring them afterwards down for sale. The same practices in force at Annamaboe.

Mr. ——— has reason to believe that the white people put the same practices in force upon the blacks, as the blacks do upon one another, when any opportunity offers. While he was lying in Gaboon river, a Liverpool snow came in. Some of the Gaboon merchants in three canoes immediately went on board her to trade; but as the Captain was not going to trade there, but farther to leeward, he seized the people who came in them, to the number of *twenty-five*, and carried them away. Their canoes he afterwards turned adrift. One of these came on shore where Mr. ——— and a party were cutting wood, and they broke it up at the Captain's request for fire wood. There happened to be at this time in Gaboon river a large Dutch frigate-built vessel trading for slaves. This vessel, in consequence of the interruption of the trade occasioned by the act of treachery now mentioned, went in pursuit of the Liverpool snow, but without success. Twenty-five of the natives of Gaboon treacherously taken off by a Liverpool trader, and carried into slavery.

In the ——— Captain ——— took from the coast four hostages or pawns, who had not been redeemed, and sold them in Jamaica. Four pawns taken from the coast.

The slaves that are brought on board have their arms generally pinioned behind their backs with grass ropes. They are made to lie down in the bottom, frequently, of a wet canoe, and if they stir, get only hard blows from the rowers or the guard. When they come on board, the men are secured by irons, in which they continue till they come to the place of sale. When the cargo is completed, the vessel leaves the coast. This is usually done at night, for the slaves discover such a love for their country, that they would almost be distracted, if they saw themselves waisted from it. Method of bringing the slaves on board. Men put into irons—leave the coast in the night. The reason why.

Many of them are unable to bear the loss of liberty, and try every means to regain it. On the day before the ——— arrived at Barbadoes, the slaves, by means of an hacked knife and the bar of the men's gratings, had freed themselves from their irons, and, just before day light in the morning, forced They rise on board the—

Fourteen killed. forced themselves upon deck; but the centinel fortunately discovered them, and gave the alarm, upon which a four pounder loaded with langridge and musket balls was pointed through the barricado, and fired among them—fourteen of them immediately fell; the rest, seeing their companions killed, fled immediately below, and the insurrection ceased.

Rise on board the True Blue of Liverpool, which had sailed in the Bight of Benin, having completed her cargo, left the coast: but on the same night on which she put to sea, the slaves rose upon the crew. All the ship's company, except the chief mate, boatswain, and three seamen, were killed. These had fortunately time to make their escape over the stern of the ship into the long-boat, and to arrive safe in the island of Saint Thomas. Mr. ——— is positive as to the fact, because he saw the survivors at the said island, and because they were afterwards received on board the vessel in which he then was.

Usually compelled to dance, — sometimes heard to sing. Subject of their songs. It is thought necessary that the slaves should take exercise for the benefit of their health. This exercise, which is called dancing, consists of jumping up and rattling their chains; it is done to the beat of a drum. If any of them appear sluggish, and unwilling, the mates and boatswain, who carry a cat of nine tails with them for that purpose, never fail to exercise it upon them. They are sometimes heard to sing of their own accord, but their songs usually contain the history of their sufferings, and the wretchedness of their situation.

Dreadful situation on account of heat. Height of their room on board the ——— The slaves complain very much of heat, and suffer greatly while below, but particularly in rainy weather, as the gratings are then covered over. They make a hideous yelling on these occasions. The seamen are obliged to hold up the corners of the tarpawlings, lest they should die of suffocation; and, notwithstanding that every relief is administered to them, they are frequently brought up in a fainting state. The height between decks in the vessel in which Mr. ——— was, might be rather more than four feet, and there was a platform between them.

Methods taken at Liverpool to procure seamen for the slave trade. Very few seamen ever go of their own inclination into the slave trade. They are procured mostly in Liverpool by fraudulent means. Crimps and Landlords are constantly looking out for strange seamen, whom they invite to their houses, and when they have gotten them sufficiently in debt, send them to the goal in Water-Street, where they remain till a Guineaman wants hands. The landlords reserve them for these ships in particular, because they have two months advance, whereas they get but one in the other trades.

Are paid in currency. The seamen who are employed in this trade are obliged after a fatiguing voyage to take half their pay in the currency of the island at which the ship sells her slaves.

Quantity and quality of their provisions. Their chests burnt. Great hardships on that account. They labour also under great hardships in point of provisions. They have no allowance of any kind of spirits, except now and then in wet weather, and then only if the Captain is in a tolerable humour. Four pounds of bread is allowed only to each man per week, with a small portion of damaged beef per day. The slave boys, who are loose about the ship, very often steal a portion of these provisions, as the seamen have no place of security to put them in, a small chest only being allowed to four or five men, as the rest have been broken up and burnt. This adds greatly to their hardships. Mr. ——— has sometimes known them either



either to have lost or consumed their bread within the two first days after its delivery, and to have gone without for the remainder of the week.

In all the Liverpool vessels in which Mr. — failed, the seamen were obliged to drink their water out of a gun barrel placed at the main-topmast head. They were under the necessity, well or ill, of going for it there. When they had brought it down and had used it, they were under the necessity of returning it to the same place, without permitting another to use it before it was carried up. Mr. — was knocked down with a tail block, and beaten in an unmerciful manner by the mate of the —, because he permitted a sick man to drink out of the gun barrel before he returned it to its proper place. He was beaten so cruelly for this, that though it may be twenty years since it happened, he now perceives the effects of the blows in cold weather, feeling in the part affected at such times, as if he had a rheumatism there.

Obliged to use gun-barrels. The relator cruelly beaten for giving it to a sick seaman who was unable to go for it himself.

Another hardship under which the seamen labour in the slave trade, is a want of covering or shelter during the vessel's stay upon the coast, and on the Middle Passage, which is a space of many months. They are obliged to sleep upon the deck, and are exposed night and day to the inclemency of the weather. If they are sick they must lie and die there, as they are not admitted under any pretence below.

The seamen are used worse in point of corporal punishment, in this, than in any other trade. They are beaten on every trivial occasion. Mr. — has seen them knocked down with handspikes, and stamped upon till the strength and passion of their tyrants has been exhausted. On their arrival, however, in the West Indies, the Captain and Officers seem to relax a little from their barbarity, and to become kind. They give the seamen leave to go on shore, but if they stay longer than forty-eight hours (which it is presumed they will do after so fatiguing a voyage) they are then termed deserters, and are not permitted to come on board. This method they take with all the appearance of lenity and indulgence, to cheat them of their wages, and to get rid of them. Thus turned adrift, without money and friends, and with ulcers and Guinea worms in their feet, they are consigned to misery and want, and are found begging about the wharfs, in the extremity of distress, forming that body of people who in the West Indies are known by the name of wharfingers.

Used barbarously. Method taken to get rid of them in the West Indies. Dreadful situation of such of them as are put adrift there.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E.  
O F

Taken from a Personal Interview with him at ———.

---

No. IV.

No. IV.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the rela-  
tor to give  
evidence.

**M**R. ———, who is a very collected, intelligent man, was three voyages to the Coast of Africa, two in the ———, Captain ——— of Liverpool, in or about the year 1762, and the third in the ——— Captain ———, in the year 1770, from the same port.

The great  
bulk of the  
slaves at  
Loango  
procured by  
the king's  
military by  
surprize.  
These go out  
armed; but  
take no  
goods with  
them.

Mr. ——— says, that expeditions are made for the purpose of catching people to slave the different vessels that arrive on the coast. While the ——— lay in the Road-stead, off Loango, he was daily on shore at the Factory. It was usual for the king of Loango to hold palavers, or conferences there with Captain ———, the result of all which uniformly were, that about twenty or more of his subjects were sent out, armed with muskets and other weapons. These usually returned on the following morning with slaves, sometimes with an whole family, at others with individuals, not so connected or related, to the number of from *two* to *ten* at a time. Every body knew that the people so brought in had been stolen. Captain ——— used frequently to say to the relator, "Well, ———, I'm afraid they'll catch "none to-day," when, perhaps, in a few minutes afterwards, the king's officers were seen with their booty coming in. These officers always went out armed, but took no goods with them, a certain proof, that they went not to purchase, but to catch people for the ship.

The king  
sells his peo-  
ple, if they  
disoblige  
him.

Mr. ——— says, that this is the general way of procuring slaves in the vicinity of Loango: the king, however, sells his own people, if they disoblige him. These are said to be sold for *crimes*: but the great bulk is made up from robbery in the night.

Mr. ———



Mr. ——— says, that the white people also make no scruple of seizing the natives, if a pretence or opportunity should offer. It is customary for the Captains of Guineamen, when they leave the coast, to give letters to such of the black traders, as have flaved their ships. In these letters they describe the character of the man, who has supplied them with slaves, that is, whether he is an honest trader or not, or whether he can slave quickly. The traders having received these letters of recommendation, give them to the next Captains that come among them.

Captains leave letters of recommendation with such black traders as have flaved their vessels.

When the ——— arrived at Pekinini Junk, between Loango and Saint Paul's, a trader came on board with a slave to sell. He produced his letter of recommendation, as before-mentioned, but, unfortunately for him, the Captain, who gave him it, mentioned him in a very unfavourable manner. Captain ——— immediately availed himself of this circumstance, and seized both him and his slave, exclaiming, at the same time, "that the rascal should cheat no more." Having secured them both, he made slaves of them, and carried them from the coast.

A trader at Pekinini Junk, produces his letter. He and his slave are seized, and carried off.

Mr. ——— says, that the white people take every advantage of the black. They give them bad goods, mix their liquors, and scruple to do nothing, however unjust, in the prosecution of the trade.

The whites guilty of many fraudulent transactions.

The slaves, when they first come on board, appear to be in a very melancholy and dejected state. Among these Mr. ——— has seen an husband, wife, and two children, in one ship, and those who called themselves and appeared to be brothers and sisters in another. The men are chained when they come on board both at the wrists and ankles, and continue so on the passage. Their irons frequently chafe them, and are the means of considerable pain. They have no room to stand upright between the decks.

Slaves appear dejected when brought on board—relations in the same vessel. Men are put into irons.

The wretched situation, in which the slaves feel themselves to be, when torn from their country, and under the dominion of the Europeans, is discernible from their actions. Several of them refuse to eat. The trader, mentioned in a former paragraph to have been forcibly carried from his country, took his situation so much to heart, as to decline every sort of sustenance. This being the case, many methods were taken to preserve his life, and to make him eat. Liquid nutriment was poured down his throat by means of an horn. He was sometimes gagged as a punishment. At other times thumb-screws were fixed upon him, and these almost daily, till his arms were swelled nearly to the size of his thighs. All punishment, however, was in vain, for he steadily persevered in his resolution, till death released him from the hands of his oppressors. The thumb-screw was the common instrument of punishment for the slaves on board the ———.

Become desperate.—The trader from Pekinini Junk refuses sustenance—methods taken to make him eat—he dies.

Another proof may be the following. Mr. ——— has known all the slaves unanimously rush to leeward in a gale of wind, on purpose to upset the ship, choosing rather to drown themselves, than to continue in their then situation, or go into foreign slavery.

Slaves rush to leeward to sink the vessel.

A third proof may be seen in insurrections. In the first voyage, in the ———, the following occurrence happened. When the cook one morning gave information that breakfast was ready, the fore-hatch-way was opened to let the slaves up. They had not been long on deck, when one of them pronouncing a certain African word, he, with the rest of them, flew to different parts of the ship. A very daring fellow, who was among them, rushed to the quarter-deck, and seized the chief mate, in order to tear him to pieces, but was prevented from accomplishing his intention by the surgeon, who immediately shot him dead. About twenty more were killed,

Rise on board the — 21 killed and 20 wounded. 12 of the ringleaders punished.

and

and *twenty* more were wounded in the fray, before it could be settled. Seeing at length, however, that their attempts would be certainly ineffectual, they desisted, and of their own accord went below. Twelve of the ringleaders were afterwards selected for punishment. Six of them were tied up on one side of the long-boat, and six on the other. In this situation the surgeon took out his lancet, and deliberately streaked them down their backs. Having afterwards rubbed brine into the gashes, he left them, and they were taken down and confined below.

Methods taken at Liverpool to procure seamen for the slave trade.

Mr. ——— says, that seamen have a great aversion to the Slave trade, and that in general they will never enter on board a Guineaman, while any other vessel is fitting out. The merchants and others concerned in that trade, aware of this, make use of stratagems to obtain them. Mr. ——— has been himself shipped for the West Indies, and fraudulently taken to Africa. The landlords too are employed to get them into debt, which being once accomplished, the business is effectually done, for they then propose to them an African voyage, and, on their declining it, a gaol. Mr. ——— has known many instances of this. He has been also an example of it, for the landlords once got hold of him in this manner, and obliged him to go with Captain ——— a second voyage, a man who will appear hereafter to have used him and others so barbarously in his first, that nothing but the fear of a prison for life could have made him sail with him again.

Are paid in currency: have little or no shelter, use the gun-barrel, — quantity and quality of their provisions.

He says also, that on board the ——— in both voyages, the seamen were obliged to receive half their wages in currency at the place, where the vessel sold her slaves, that they had but little shelter on the Middle Passage, though more in general than seamen have in the Guinea trade, on account of the construction of the ———. That they were obliged to make use of a gun-barrel to take their water. That their allowance of bread was three pounds and an half per week, and of beef that was damaged half a pound per day, and that they were often reduced to such extremities, as to be obliged to beg victuals of the slaves.

Usual to burn their chests — Mr. ——— complaining about his, is unmercifully beaten.

The seamen in the slave trade are treated in general in a very barbarous manner. The first thing that was done after leaving the Isle of Man, (where it was customary to go for smuggled liquors) was to break open the seamen's chests, and afterwards burn them, to clear the ship. Capt. ——— seized that belonging to Mr. ———, and broke it open with an axe, and was going to burn it, when Mr. ——— swore, that he would throw it overboard himself sooner than that he, Captain ———, should have the pleasure of committing it to the flames. Upon this the Captain became furious, and, seizing a broom-stick, beat Mr. ——— with it so unmercifully, that he was scarcely able to walk or do his duty for some time. The above chest cost him fifteen or sixteen shillings at Liverpool, but no recompense was ever made him for it, or is ever made to seamen on such occasions.

Are barbarously used. Case of — Skelton. Better usage on board the — —; Reason why.

The following may be mentioned as another specimen of the ill usage, which seamen experience in the slave trade. As the people were one day handing water from the hold to fill the scuttle-cask (the cask into which the gun-barrel is dipped for water) — Skelton, one of them, took a drink as he was handing it along. The Captain, seeing him drink the water in this manner, beat him with a two-inch and an half rope, at the end of which he had made an overhand knot himself, to increase the weight of the blows. With this he beat him for about the space of ten minutes very severely, kicking him at the same time. The man became ill in consequence



quence of it, and his side and back, upon which the blows principally fell, were so bruised and wounded, that the blood discharged itself both from his mouth and downwards. One night in particular it was thought that he would have died. He lay in extreme agony, groaning and complaining of his side and back. From the time in which he was so beaten, he took to his hammock, and did no duty. When the ——— came to Charleston, he was taken on shore by the Captain's leave. He was then ill, and was afterwards confined to his room. In this situation, and entirely destitute, Captain ——— thought proper to leave him, and accordingly sailed away. In short, in both the voyages on board the ———, there was nothing but ill usage, the people being kicked, flogged, and beaten on the most trifling occasions. In the ———, however, there was better usage, for the Captain had just left the West India trade, to get into the African, and was therefore unacquainted with the practices in the latter.

In the first voyage, four seamen were lost, and in the second, one. But Mr. ——— says, that a very considerable number of them perish, after they are discharged or turned adrift in the West Indies. He has seen Guinea seamen at Charleston, St. Lucia, Savannah-le-Mar, but particularly at Kingston, lying and wandering about in the extremity of disease and distress. He knew them to be Guineamen's people, because he knew the ships from which many of them had been discharged. He has seen some so far gone, that he has considered them as dead, and the next morning has heard from other seamen that they actually died. Upon others the negroes have taken compassion, and carried them into their huts, where he has often seen them so ill, as to be almost at the point of death.

Loss of seamen on board the ———  
dreadful situation of such as are discharged from Guineamen at the port of delivery.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E.

O F

Collected from a Personal Interview with him there, and  
from his own Papers.

No. V.

No. V.  
Situation  
and Quali-  
fication of the  
relator to  
give  
evidence.

**M**R. ——— is a gentleman in independant circumstances at Ply-  
mouth. In the year 1768 or 1769, he made a voyage to the coast of  
Africa for slaves, on board the ———, Capt. ———, of Liverpool.

No wounds  
to be found  
on the slaves  
on board the  
———.  
Conclusion  
from thence.

When Mr. ——— went to the coast of Africa, he went with a notion,  
that slaves were such as had been previously procured by war, but, not be-  
ing able to discover any wounds or marks of violence upon those who were  
brought on board the ———, he began to change his opinion on that  
subject.

A girl stolen  
at Pekinini  
Sisters. The  
trader, who  
stole and sold  
her, stolen  
and sold  
himself. —  
Robbery the  
support of  
the Slave  
Trade.

While the ——— was lying at Pekinini Sisters, between Cape Formosa  
and Cape Palmas, the following circumstance happened, which contributed  
not a little to the change. A grand trading man, of the name of Ben  
Johnson, of Wappò, brought on board a girl slave, whom he had stolen,  
and sold her to the ship. He had not long taken his departure from the  
——— before two people in a canoe came on board, and inquired, if Ben  
Johnson had not just sold a certain girl. Having been answered in the  
affirmative, they immediately jumped into their canoe, and put off, but  
in a little time returned to the ——— with Ben Johnson in their canoe:  
when they were all on board, the two canoe-men offered Ben Johnson to  
Capt. ——— for sale, who immediately bargained for him. Ben John-  
son, who could speak English well, remonstrated with the Captain in the  
following manner; "What, Captain, do you buy *me*? Don't you know  
" who I am? Don't you know Ben Johnson, of Wappò? Don't you know  
" that I am a grand trading man, and furnish your ships with slaves?" To  
this the Captain made the following reply; "If they will sell you, I will  
" certainly



"certainly buy you." All remonstrances were now ineffectual, and Ben Johnson was bought, and afterwards carried to the West-Indies. If Mr. ——— were allowed to give his opinion as made up but from a single voyage, he should not hesitate to say, that the natives of Africa lie in wait, and lay hold of every pretence, for the purpose of catching and selling one another to the Europeans.

Mr. ——— says, that they had a very favourable voyage; that the ——— was of the burthen of about ninety tons: that she sailed from the coast (including men, women, and children) with one hundred and sixty persons, and that only six of them were lost by death on the voyage.

Tonnage of the ———  
Number of slaves on board.  
Loss on the passage.

The slaves on board the ——— had their breakfast usually at about ten o' clock in the morning. It consisted of boiled horse beans. There were about ten of them in each mess, and to each mess were given five quarts of the food now mentioned. At four o' clock in the afternoon they were fed again. Their meal at this time consisted of boiled rice mixed up with palm oil. They had the same allowance, as to quantity, as before. This was the whole of their food for twenty-four hours; in which space of time one pint of water was given to each person. Palm oil was now and then allowed them, that they might anoint their bodies.

Time and nature of their meals, allowance of palm

The slaves on board the ——— were, in general, treated well, that is, as well as the nature of their situation would admit. Some individuals, however, were very hardly used. Capt. ——— was a very brutal, tyrannical sort of man, and seemed often to delight in giving pain. At one time in particular, when he was drunk, he ordered a man slave to be brought on deck. He placed himself opposite to the man, after he had been brought up, and desired a rope to be put between them, and to be drawn tight. In this situation, and trusting to his own skill, he diverted himself with boxing the said slave. The said slave, however, being called upon to strike in return, gave the captain a most violent and unexpected blow. The captain immediately upon this ran below, and brought up an half-hunter's whip, which he kept in the cabin. He vented all his fury upon the unfortunate slave. He beat him both with the lash and with the butt end of it, in so shocking and barbarous a manner, that Mr. ——— would feel himself at a loss to describe it justly.

Instance of cruelty to one of them on board the ———.

At another time four or five of the men slaves (whether compelled by hunger or not, Mr. ——— cannot say) opened the fore-lazaretto or store-room, and took from thence a few dried horse beans to eat. For this offence they were tortured in a dreadful manner, by means of thumb screws that were fixed upon them. This punishment is inexpressibly severe. The poor slaves, that endured it, shook and trembled, while under its influence, like persons in a violent fit of the ague, so excessive was the torment, and so much did it take possession of their whole frame.

Others tortured by thumb screws. — The severity of the punishment

Mr. ——— is of opinion, that seamen in general have a great aversion to a Guinea voyage. He says, that the common way of getting them in Liverpool for the Slave Trade, is by means of landlords, who contrive first to get them into debt, and who afterwards propose to them a Guineaman or a goal.

Method taken at Liverpool to procure seamen for the Slave Trade.

The allowance of bread to the seamen of the ———, was only four pounds per week for each man. One pound of salt beef (Irish junk) was also allowed to each of them per day. But the beef was of such an inferior quality, that one pound of it became in the boiling but three or four ounces. And this was all the sustenance which the seamen had on the voyage.

Quantity and quality of their provisions — use the gun barrel — allowance of water.

voyage. On the outward-bound passage, being becalmed, the gun barrel was in use, in order to save the water. On the coast they had as much water as they could drink; but on the Middle Passage, no slave, or seaman, had more than one pint of water for the twenty-four hours.

Have little  
or no cover-  
ing or shel-  
ter.

The seamen of the ——— had little or no covering or shelter, either upon the coast or on the middle passage. A tarpawling awning was spread over the booms, and was the only protection they had from the inclemency of the weather either night or day, for many months, during which there were repeated tornadoes and much rain.

Are paid  
in currency.  
Hardship of  
the case—  
Reason why  
they accept  
their pay.

It is an invariable rule on board slave vessels, to oblige the seamen, on their arrival in the West-Indies, to take half their wages in the currency of the island on which the slaves are sold. This is a great hardship. Notwithstanding which they are glad to take it; for, after the starving voyages made in the Slave Trade, any little refreshment that can be gotten, is peculiarly agreeable, and will be caught at on any terms. The slaves, brought away from the coast by the ——— were sold at St. Kitt's, so that the seamen were charged for every dollar (of the value of four shillings and six pence) which they received, eight shillings and three pence, that is, they received by these means but little more than half the wages that were due to them, notwithstanding a voyage of ill treatment, hunger, hardships, and fatigue.

Extremely  
ill used.

Mr. ——— says, that the seamen of the ——— were extremely ill treated. The Captain never addressed them but with an oath, or with some ignominious epithet or other, for he never called any of them by his true name. He was accustomed also to beat them with ropes in a very inhuman and merciless manner, and to flog them for the slightest omission or fault. His behaviour was so tyrannical and intolerable, that a scheme was one in agitation to take the ship from him, to carry her afterwards to Madeira, and to give her up to the governor there: but some small circumstance intervened to prevent the seamen from carrying their project into execution; which project was then, as well as afterwards, kept with such profound secrecy, that the Captain never knew of it, nor does he even know of it, if living, to this day.

The relator  
suffers a-  
mongst the  
rest.

Mr. ——— experienced the Captain's brutality as well as others. The Captain frequently came behind him, and, out of meer wantonness, struck him unawares with his fist upon his head or face, and committed other outrages upon his person. This he was accustomed to do for his own pleasure.

Case of John  
Coffee—His  
sufferings—  
His death.

On board the ——— was a seaman, of the name of John Coffee, a native of Ireland. This man was excessively ill used, if not murdered. His legs, as is usual in these voyages, were much swelled, so that he could not walk, but with great pain. In this situation the Captain ordered him to do some duty belonging to the ship. The poor man replied, that "he was totally unable, for that his legs would not suffer him, and that he was then in the greatest pain. Capt. ——— replied, that "he would drive his laziness out of him, and make his legs swell more." Upon this he ordered him to be seized up to the main shrouds on the starboard side abaft, and his arms to be confined on such a part of them, that his toes should just reach the deck. In this situation he remained for a considerable time, bearing his whole weight upon his arms, that he might not, by means of his toes touching the deck, be put to extraordinary pain; till at length he felt himself in such anguish of body, on account of his suspension by the arms and his tortured legs, that he earnestly intreated the Captain to put a pistol to his head and shoot



shoot him, and thus, by an act of kindness, to relieve him from a situation, to which death was to be preferred. The Captain, however, paid no other attention to his complaints than by addressing him in the following words: "You villain, do you think that I'll be hanged for you?" and suffered him to remain for about six hours in such an excruciating state. At six in the evening he was taken down, but on the following morning died.

Mr. ——— says, that when the ——— sailed from Liverpool, she took out (including the Captain, mates, and crew,) about thirty-eight people. Of these about seven died in the voyage. Some staid behind on the coast with Captain ———, of the Violet, and several ran away at St. Kitt's; so that very few, in the opinion of Mr. ———, ever returned to their own country.

Loss of seamen on board the — Several deserted at St. Kitt's.

Mr. ——— has seen the seamen, that have left the slave vessels on account of hard usage on their arrival in the West-Indies, wandering about in a distressed situation there. He remembers several both at Grenada and St. Kitt's. When he was at these islands, in his Majesty's ship St. Alban's, some of them were taken on board. Mr. ——— is of opinion that many of the seamen, of this description, die in the West-Indies in a very forlorn and miserable state. Others, he had reason to believe, get into the illicit trade, carried on between the English and Spanish colonies, and being often taken by the guarda costas belonging to the latter, are consigned by them either to the mines, or to a dungeon, or to perpetual slavery.

Wretched situation, when put adrift in the West-Indies. Fate of many of them there.

H

THE

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

A very sensible and respectable Man, taken from an Interview with him at ———.

---

No. X.

No. VI.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. ——— was but one voyage to the coast of Africa. He sailed from the port of London in a large vessel, called the ———, commanded by Captain ———. She was bound to the river Bonny, and from thence to St. Lucia, in the West-Indies. Mr. ——— was boatswain of this vessel, and went out with her as such in the year 1771.

Bonny slaves  
on board  
the ———,  
declare they  
had been  
kidnapped.

The greatest part of the people who are made slaves in the country about Bonny, are, in the opinion of Mr. ———, reduced to that situation by robbery and fraud. Most of the slaves who were on board the ———, (if their own tales were to be credited) were kidnapped, or caught in the night by their own countrymen.

A young wo-  
man stolen by  
three of king  
Warry's peo-  
ple at Bonny  
Point.

That kidnapping is one way of procuring them, Mr. ——— is able to ascertain from a fact, that came within his own knowledge. He, in company with six seamen, were cleaning the bottom of one of their boats at Bonny Point, when a young negroe-woman came to bathe. She went into the water under a cover of reed, made in the form of the roof of a cottage, namely, (A) that she might bathe unseen. It was not long before three black people, belonging to King Warry, rushed from the bushes and seized her: they first bound her hands behind her by means of twisted cane. They then twisted another cane about her neck, that they might drag her along. On discovering a reluctance to go, she was very inhumanly beaten by twigs of the same kind, and was brought bleeding to Mr. ———'s boat: into this they immediately forced her, and she was taken (for Mr. ——— dared not refuse her) to the ———, where she was instantly purchased.

Mr. ———



Mr. ——— has frequently heard the negroes in the West-Indies declare, that they were taken by robbers in the night, or kidnapped as now mentioned.

Slaves in the West-Indies declare, they had been taken in a similar manner.

The same practices, that are made use of by the black people in their own country to get slaves, are used also by the white. The Gregson, Capt. Hanley, came into Bonny River to slave. When she came in, she had thirty slaves on board. Mr. ——— thinking it strange (considering she was bound to Bonny) that she should have stopped by the way to trade, asked of the people on board, where they had stopped to get them. They replied, that Captain Hanley, in passing along the coast, had seen them in their canoes, had decoyed them on board, and taken them off. Two of the number kidnapped were said to be kings sons.

Thirty of the natives of the Windward Coast taken off by the Gregson, Captain Hanley, of Liverpool.

The above is a common practice upon the Windward Coast, and is tried in most of the ships that pass it, so that the natives there are exceedingly shy and fearful. When the ——— came opposite to that part of the Windward Coast, which is called the Two Sisters, she was steered to the land, as near as she could well go with safety; for it was the intention of Captain ——— to take as many of the natives as he could in this way, and the crew were prepared for it. The natives, upon seeing the vessel make the land, came off in their canoes, but refused to venture on board. Several inducements were held out, such as pipes, tobacco, and beads. After these had been shewn them, there were three who appeared willing to come. In a little time they came into the main chains, but they would not proceed farther. Upon this the captain gave orders to his people to try to seize them, but they were too wary, and jumped into the water, from whence they got into their canoes and paddled off.

A similar attempt made upon three of them, by Capt. —, but without success.

Mr. ——— says, that the kings of Africa have some slaves of their own, and that they sell these for the slightest faults. There were three on board the ———, doing duty as custom-house officers there for King Warry, whose slaves they were. These, having incurred his displeasure, were sold to Captain ———.

King of Bonny sells such of his slaves as disoblige him.

At Bonny the slaves are brought down in large canoes. They are usually tied hand and foot with twisted rattans, and lie promiscuously at the bottom of these canoes or boats. The men when put on board are ironed in pairs. From one to thirty are brought down at a time.

Method of bringing down the slaves at Bonny. The men put in irons.

The slaves on board the ——— were very well off in point of room. The vessel was of the burthen of about six hundred tons, and only about six hundred of them were put on board of her, so that they had room to lie down and to turn themselves. The height, moreover, between decks, was about five feet and an half.

Tonnage of the —, number of slaves on board, height of their rooms.

They were locked between decks from sun-rise to sun-set. At about eight in the morning every slave had a wine glass full of brandy, and half a biscuit. At ten, as much boiled rice or split beans as he could eat, together with palm oil. About four in the afternoon the same was repeated. Those who were sickly had boiled yams. In consequence of so much care, and a plenty of food, as well as a sufficiency of room in the vessel, only three of them died in the Middle Passage.

Time and nature of their meals—Loss on the passage.

When the slaves first came on board, they appeared to be very dejected. The men refused sustenance for three or four days, but afterwards came to themselves, and began to be tolerably composed. They rose however three times in the ———, but, by the vigilance of the officers and people, were prevented from succeeding in their attempts. The men were always in irons, which were fastened both to the wrists and ankles.

Look dejected on board—refuse sustenance—rise three times—are quelled without any slaughter.

Notwithstanding

Compelled  
to dance—  
Relations in  
the same ship

Notwithstanding that they were well used in point of room and provisions, they were not exempt from the lash. It was thought necessary, for the sake of their health, that they should take exercise. This exercise was called dancing. Accordingly some were selected out of them, upon whom was conferred the office and title of boatswains mates. A cat of nine tails was put into the hands of each of these, and it was their office to compel those to dance, by means of the lash, who were unwilling or slothful on such occasions. Mr. — has seen husbands, wives and children, or those he understood to be so, in one ship.

Usage of  
the seamen  
on board the  
—. Their  
shelter and  
provisions.  
Use the gun  
barrel. Are  
paid in  
currency.

The seamen on board the —, were not treated amiss. They were not stinted in point of provisions, and they had tolerable shelter; but this was principally to be attributed to the make of the ship, which was frigate-built. Half their wages due to them, on their arrival in the West-Indies, was charged to them in currency; and they were under the necessity of using a gun barrel to get their water.

Loss of them.  
Loss of sea-  
men of the  
Polly—Polly  
blown up—  
King Warry  
perishes.

Seven of the crew of the — perished in the voyage, but their loss was to be attributed to an extraordinary circumstance. A ship called the Polly, belonging to Bristol, and commanded by Captain Welsh, ran a ground in Bonny River, and, on account of the negligence of the natives, was blown up. Three of her people perished in the conflagration. It was here also, that the seven alluded to perished; nor was King Warry himself better off, for he lost his life on the occasion. The remaining part of the Polly's crew, to the number of forty-two, were received on board the —. They had however been previously in the possession of the natives, who since the death of their king had almost starved, and otherwise cruelly used them, from a supposition, perhaps, that his loss was to be attributed to them, or the other whites. From this circumstance, and others concurrent with it, no less than thirty-two of them died, after they were received on board the —, on the Middle Passage.

Dreadful  
situation of  
such as are  
put adrift  
Guineamen  
in the West-  
Indies.

Mr. — is of opinion, that several of the seamen discharged or deserting from Guinea-men in the West-Indies, perish there. He has seen them in the most dreadful situation, and in the height of distress. He has often relieved their necessities. He has left them, however, at last, in such a stage of disease and sickness, that he considered them as inevitably lost.

Few seamen  
lost in the  
West-India  
trade.

Mr. —, besides the voyage now mentioned to Guinea, has been six voyages to the West-Indies and back, so that he asserts the contents of the former paragraph upon good grounds. In these six voyages two seamen only were lost by death.



T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F S E V E R A L  
C O N V E R S A T I O N S  
H E L D W I T H

And committed to Writing in his Presence, at  
September, 1788.

No. VII.

**M**R. ——— was ten voyages to the coast of Guinea for slaves. The first three were in the ——— of Liverpool, Captains ———. The fourth in the ——— of Liverpool, Captain ———. The fifth in the ——— of Liverpool, Captain ———. The sixth in the ——— of Liverpool, Captain ———. The seventh in the ——— Captain ——— of Lancaster. The eighth and ninth in the ——— Captain ——— of Bristol; and the tenth in the ——— Captain ——— of London. He returned from his last voyage, to the best of his recollection, in the year 1770.

No. VII.  
The Situation and qualification of the relator to give evidence.

Mr. ——— cannot positively say, in general terms, how slaves are originally obtained; but, if he were allowed to take his opinion from the few instances that came within his knowledge upon the coast, he should say first, that they were obtained by the natives by means of treachery or force, and that this order of slaves was more extensive than any other.

Great bulk of the slaves at Benin procured by treachery or force.

The first reason which would induce him to form such an opinion, may be taken from the following occurrence:

Mr. ——— was lying in the ——— in Benin River. At the time alluded to, Captain Lemma Lemma, a great trader of Benin, was on board. This trader, happening to be on deck, observed a canoe with three people in it, crossing the above river. Upon seeing it he dispatched a war canoe, which was then lying along side the ———, and on board of which were five of his people, in pursuit. They presently came up with the canoe aforesaid, and, having seized her, brought her along-side of the ———. The three

Three of the natives stolen by Lemma's people. Fate of one of them.

people were then taken out of the canoe, and brought on board. They consisted of a father, son, and daughter. The two latter were sold to the chief mate, Captain ——— being then at the factory at Gatoe. The former, on account of his age, was refused. Upon this Captain Lemma Lemma ordered his people to take him into his own canoe, which they accordingly did, but laid his head upon the thwart of the boat, and in two strokes with a cutlass cut it off. This Mr. ——— saw with his own eyes.

Same Lemma Lemma procures for the ship—a notorious robber.

A second reason which would induce him to form such an opinion, would be this, That the ship was supplied afterwards with a great number of slaves by the same Lemma Lemma, and that the same Lemma Lemma was considered as a robber or stealer of men by the natives, for they were exceedingly afraid of venturing out whenever any of his war canoes were in sight.

Slaves on board declare they had been stolen.

A third reason would be this, That he has often heard from the slaves on board, whose language he could understand, that they had been stolen by their own countrymen, and conducted to the vessel.

Very few with wounds on board—many boys and girls—conclusion from thence.

Mr. ——— is more confirmed in his opinion, namely, That the order of kidnapped people, or people taken by fraud, is more extensive than any other, first, because in all the voyages he has made, he recollects but two or three instances of slaves being brought on board who had any wounds upon them: So that few, in his opinion, are prisoners of war: And secondly, because in every ship to which he belonged, there were always a number of boys and girls, who had no relations on board, who, on account of their age, could never have been criminals.

Kidnapping practised by the whites.

Mr. ——— is of opinion, that kidnapping, or the taking away of people by treachery, is also now and then practised by the whites. This he supposes from the following circumstance:

Two of the natives of Fernandipo taken off by a Liverpool trader.

When he belonged to the ———, Captain ———, he was sent with two seamen in the shallop to the island of Fernandipo for yams. A musket was fired, as usual, to let the natives know that they were coming to trade with them. None of them, however, ventured down till the afternoon, when they were discovered to be peeping through the bushes, and approaching slyly at the same time. About eight or ten of them came at last upon the beach. They brought with them a goat, and a few baskets of yams, but would by no means venture to the boat. Upon this Mr. ——— jumped into the water, and swam to them. He was immediately, on his arrival upon the shore, surrounded by a great number of the inhabitants, who came about him with their lances. One of them, an old man, informed him that two of their people, a man and woman, had been stolen from the island by a Liverpool ship's long-boat. The people now became rather tumultuous, and brandished their darts over Mr. ———, giving him to understand that, unless he could bring back the two islanders and had been stolen, they would kill him: The sailors in the shallop seeing this, fired two muskets over their heads, which had such an effect upon them, that they immediately ran away, and left their goat and yams behind them. These Mr. ——— and the two seamen put into their boat, and proceeded to Old Calabar. On their arrival there they related the circumstance as it happened, and, on making a proper inquiry, found the two people, who had been stolen, on board a Liverpool Guinea-man, which Mr. ———, as far as his recollection goes, thinks was the Dobson. The two people being thus found out, were, on a representation made that no more trade could be carried on with the inhabitants of Fernandipo, sent on board the ——— next morning. On the same day Mr. ——— took them back to their own island, when he was rewarded with



with fowls, goats, yams, honey, and other articles, nor could the natives be prevailed upon to take any thing from him in return.

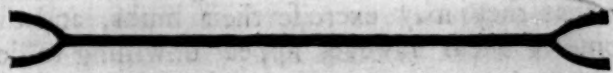
Mr. — is of opinion that crimes either supposed or real, form a source, from whence the slave trade is supplied also. The two following facts that came under his own knowledge have induced him to think so. Crimes also produce slavery.

At Yanamaroo, a town up the river Gambia, a black trader, who had many wives, charged one of them with adultery, and accordingly sold her to the vessel. Up the same river also some canoe boys were sold to the —, who, speaking all of them good English, told Mr. — and others, that they had been sold for theft. They were sold by their own masters. Mr. — believes that no trial takes place, but that in such cases they are instantly upon detection brought on board.

Mr. — says, that there is another order of slaves upon the coast, namely, of those who are born in bondage there. These are employed in fishing, in cultivating the ground, and in rowing canoes for their masters. These are sold to the Europeans for any trivial offence, and, when their masters are in want of goods, they generally make use of some pretence to accuse and sell them. Country slaves—their employment.

Those who are slaves in Africa, and are employed as before-mentioned, are neither worked so hard nor treated so ill, as the slaves in the British colonies. They are more on a level with their masters. Mr. — has seen them eating in the same apartment, and talking freely with each other. He has never seen nor heard of any instances on any part of the coast, which he has visited, where slaves were beaten or even struck. If they commit a fault, they are mostly sold. Their slavery not so grievous as in the West Indies.

The slaves, that are purchased up the Gambia, are generally brought thither through the interior country by land. They come in droves of three or four hundred at a time. The women and boys are permitted to walk freely. The men, however, are confined; the arms of some of the latter are tied behind them. Two or three others are tied together by means of leathern thongs, or ropes of grass, at the neck. Two others are confined by means of a pole, at each end of which is a crutch to put the neck in, of the following form:



Their two necks being placed in the crutches, as represented in the above figure, are confined in them by leather thongs, made fast to the ends or extremities of the said crutches. Sometimes it happens that one man is seen by himself to have such a crutch upon him. In this case the pole which is fastened to the crutch, is placed behind him, and one of the servants of the black merchants uses it as a goad, and pushes him along with it, holding it in his hand, and forcing it against the back of his neck. In this manner they are driven down with skins, full of water on their backs. Almost all of them carry their own water. Others bring down wax and ivory. They are generally covered with dust, and suffer much, not only from this circumstance, but because their feet are frequently swelled with walking, and their wrists and arms cut by the pressure of the thong, which confines them. Such a body of slaves is called a *cauffle*. The traders, who drive them down, ride upon horses, some before, some behind, and others on each side of them, according as the breadth of the path will permit. Mr. — has seen several in the *cauffle* lame with walking. As to the other places which he has visited

visited upon the coast, he had never an opportunity of seeing how the slaves were brought down to them there.

Slaves examined—medium of exchange—its value.

When the slaves are brought down, the black traders or brokers, who are acquainted with the English, and Portuguese, and other languages, as well as the languages of the interior Africans, offer them to sale to the Europeans. The latter examine them, and refuse such as have any defect, or are at all sickly. The medium of exchange, by means of which they make their respective bargains, is called a bar in the Gambia and upon the Windward Coast, but at Old and New Calabar, a copper. This bar and this copper were in Mr. ———'s time equal in value, and estimated at about 5s each.

Traders trusted with goods—leave their relations in pawn.—Two pawns taken off in the ———.

It is customary to lend goods, both up the Gambia, at Old and New Calabar, and at Benin, to the black traders. These, however, are obliged to leave their sons, daughters, and other relations on board, as a security for the payment of the same. Those, who are so left, are called *pawns*. It is not unusual with the English Captains to sail away with them. The Captain of the ——— in which vessel Mr. ———, sailed, carried away two persons of this description.

Slaves look dejected, when brought on board. Men are put into irons.

Mr. ——— says, that the slaves are much dejected indeed, and that he never saw them otherwise than dejected, when they were brought on board.

The men immediately on their entrance into the vessel are put in irons, and chained two and two together. The irons are fastened to their legs, or to their wrists, or, if they are refractory, to their necks. Mr. ——— has seen both their legs and wrists much chafed and swelled in consequence of these irons. It was, in general, the custom in those vessels to which he belonged, to take them off when within about ten or twelve days sail of the destined port.

Time and nature of their meals.

The slaves are usually brought upon deck at about nine o'clock in the morning, and stay up till sun-set. They are fed twice in the day, namely, at ten in the morning, and five in the afternoon. Their food consists generally of rice, yams, and horse-beans. They have sometimes two pint pannikins of water per day, but not often, and when water begins to run short, not half the quantity.

Compelled to dance.

It is the custom to insist upon their dancing, whenever the weather will permit, in order that they may exercise their limbs, and thereby preserve their health. Some of them however appear unwilling to do it. All such are compelled to it by a cat of nine tails, which is invariably used on such occasions.

Dreadful situation on account of heat.

Mr. ——— says, that the slaves, in consequence of too close a stowage, complain much of heat, and that he has seen them panting and almost dying for want of water.

He says also, that the rains are frequent and violent on the middle passage, but that in those ships, in which he sailed, they never covered the gratings with a tarpawling, but made a tarpawling awning over the booms: Notwithstanding which he has seen the slaves after a rain panting for breath, and in such a situation, that the seamen have been obliged to get them immediately upon deck, fearing otherwise that they would immediately faint and die.

Platforms and windsails

Mr. ——— believes that in all the vessels, in which he sailed, platforms were used, and that they had windsails in the ——— and in the ———.

With



With respect to the treatment of slaves, while on board the ships, they are used well in some, and as badly in others. The latter mode of treatment is in general productive of bad consequences, as may be seen in some of the following instances.

Cat of nine tails made and inlaid with wire.

When Captain ——— died, his chief mate Mr. ——— succeeded to the command of the ———. On his arrival to such command, he ordered Mr. ——— to make him a cat of nine tails, and to inlay each of the tails of it with three pieces of wire. With this cat he was accustomed to flog the slaves, and apparently for his diversion.

Slaves flogged with it on board the —

On a certain day, on the passage from Benin to ———, while the said Captain ——— was at dinner, the slaves happened to be making a noise over his head. He immediately rose up, and taking with him the wire cat before-mentioned, went amongst them. The slaves, having often before experienced his fury, were immediately thrown into consternation. Six women instantly jumped overboard. Five of them were drowned. The sixth having been taken up and saved, was afterwards by the Captain's orders hoisted up to the yard-arm, and from thence let down into the water, and this was repeated so often, that she had nearly shared the fate of the other five.

Women jump overboard.

At another time, a noise being made in the mens rooms, Captain ——— selected eight of them for punishment. These he ordered to be tied up by their wrists to the booms. He flogged them with the cat before-mentioned in a very cruel manner: but, not thinking this a sufficient punishment, he ordered thumb-screws to be fixed upon them; in consequence of which the thumbs of some of them mortified and rotted off, and they died.

Others tortured by thumb-screws.—Thumbs rotted off—they die.

It is not unusual with the slaves, whether from a love of liberty, from ill treatment, as before described, from a spirit of vengeance, or other causes, to attempt to rise upon the crew.

Slaves frequently rise.

The True Blue of Liverpool was cut off at sea by the slaves on board, and all the white people, but three or four, were killed. These, together with the slaves, were taken up by another vessel.

Rise on the crew of the True Blue kill most of them.

At another time an attempt was made by the slaves to rise upon the crew of the Africa, a Bristol Guinea-man, and then lying in New Calabar River. They had already extricated themselves from their irons, and were forcing open the barricado door, when Mr. ——— and seven seamen in the ———'s boat, well armed with pistols and cutlasses, got on board. They immediately mounted the barricado, and fired over the heads of the slaves; but this not deterring them from their design, they fired among them, in consequence of which one man slave was killed.

Rise on the crew of the Africa—three killed—eight selected for punishment.

Notwithstanding this, the slaves made a second attempt, but not succeeding, went forward. Mr. ——— and the rest followed them with their arms. Some of the slaves, upon seeing them advance, jumped overboard, others ran below, and others staid upon deck. Among the latter they fired again and killed two.

Being now subdued, and afterwards secured, eight of them were selected for an example. They were tied up to the rough tree, and every person in the ———'s boat, as well as every one of the crew of the Africa, flogged them till from weariness they could flog no more. The Captain of the Africa then heated the tormentor or cook's tongs, and the surgeon's instrument

strument for spreading plaisters, and burned their flesh. This operation being over, they were confined and taken below.

Number  
purchased  
and lost.—  
Small pox  
on board  
the ——.   
Dreadful  
situation on  
account of it.

With respect to the loss of slaves, Mr. ——— says, that in his first voyage on board the ———, they purchased about 350, and buried 5; that in the ——— they purchased about 370, and buried about 100; and that in the second voyage in the ——— they purchased about 350 as before, and buried about 200. At this time they have taken up eight or ten dead in a morning. The rooms and platforms of the slaves were at this juncture like one continued scab; for the small pox had broken out among them, and had occasioned the prodigious loss now mentioned. In the rest of the voyages which Mr. ——— made, they always buried some slaves: but how many he does not now recollect.

Method of  
procuring  
seamen  
for the  
slave trade

Mr. ——— says, that some seamen go voluntarily into the slave trade, and for various reasons: Some, because they have been every other voyage but that to Guinea, and they are desirous of trying it: others, because they have an affection for an old ship-mate, who has perhaps shipped himself for Guinea, and they are willing to be with him: These and other reasons induce them often to go there; but by far the greater part of them go from necessity. Some of these embark in it from want, and because the West Indiamen and others having failed, they can get no other employ. Others are threatened by their landlords, who have purposely gotten them into debt, and are obliged to go to avoid a goal: others are taken from the goal itself, whither they have been put for that purpose, many instances of which have come under his own knowledge. Mr. ——— has seen as fine seamen in the slave trade as in any other whatever.

Are paid  
in currency.—  
—have no  
shelter—na-  
ture and  
quantity of  
their pro-  
visions—use  
the gun  
barrel.

The treatment which the seamen undergo, who are employed in the slave trade, in whatever point of view it is considered, cannot be sufficiently reprobated. Mr. ——— says, that in all his ten voyages he was obliged to receive half his wages at the port of delivery, in currency instead of sterling. He asserts also, that no seaman whatever, in all the ten voyages alluded to, had any shelter or place where he could put his head during the whole of the Middle Passage, but that every one was exposed night and day to the inclemency of the weather: that the provisions on board the slave ships are not only very bad, but are dealt out so sparingly, that the crew are often put to great pain from the calls of hunger; that the very largest allowance, which he himself ever had, was but four ounces of beef or pork when boiled, per day, and five pounds of bread per week; and that the smallest allowance was three pounds of bread per week, and the same quantity of beef or pork as before mentioned per day, and that they were obliged to get their water from a gun barrel, to be fetched from the mast head.

Cruel treat-  
ment of them  
on board the  
Phoenix.  
Case of  
Thomas  
Jones, and  
five others.—  
die at Forje.

With respect to the ill usage of seamen in other points, Mr. ——— gives the following particulars:

When he was on board the ——— in New Calabar River, the Phoenix from Bristol, commanded by Captain Bishop, was lying there. Captain Bishop was a very severe man, and behaved in a very barbarous manner to his crew. At one time in particular, he missed a small piece of ham. He immediately manned his yawl, and sent after the seamen who were gone to cut wood for the vessel. Immediately on their return on board, they were obliged to receive from the doctor, and to take an emetick, in order that he, Captain Bishop, might know who had eaten it. He had not however the satisfaction of punishing any of them on that occasion, for no signs of a thief were to be found.

In



In this and other ways the seamen of the Phoenix were ill used, and the oppression of the Captain was at last so seriously felt by them, that they grew quite weary of their lives. Six of them accordingly took the yawl, and left him in New Calabar River, determined to suffer any hardships rather than stay in their own vessel. It was not long, however, before they were taken by the natives in their war canoes, and brought to Forje, a small town in the mouth of New Calabar River. Captain Bishop, on being made acquainted with their capture, ordered them to be chained by the neck, legs, and arms, and to be kept there. He ordered also that only a plaintain per day should be given them. Thomas Jones, who was one of them, an excellent seaman, and a ship-mate of Mr. ———'s, became in consequence of his situation, raving mad, and, deprived of all sustenance, died in his chains. The remaining five soon shared his fate, and died also in their chains at Forje.

Mr. ——— says, that on board the ——— his own ship, the seamen were also very ill used. He has seen Captain ——— kick them about repeatedly, and beat them with his fist, and with ropes, and with any thing that he could first lay his hand upon, on the most trifling occasions.

The gunner of the ——— was one day acting as centinel over the slaves. On board the Captain ——— upon seeing him, desired him to look forward. The gunner ———. Case of the gunner made him no reply, but said privately to himself, "I could very willingly —dies. "turn my musket upon you," or words to that effect. The Captain overhearing him, ordered him to be tied up. He flogged him in an unmerciful manner with his own hands. In about four days afterwards the gunner died.

Mr. ——— says, that in Guineamen, when the seamen were just at the last gasp, and died in a day or two afterwards, or on the same day, he has seen them beaten about, and compelled to do their duty by force, nor have indulgences of any kind been granted them. On board the ——— a seaman was in so weak and feeble a state, that it was dangerous for him to go up to the mast-head to fetch the gun barrel, to enable him to drink. Notwithstanding this, he was debarred from having his water in any other way. The poor man at length, on account of extreme thirst, was obliged to attempt to go. He ascended as well as he could; but, when he had gotten up about half way on the main shrouds, he called out for help. Mr. ——— accordingly with another went up to him, and by means of their assistance he came down, but was unable to get up as far as the gun barrel, neither were they permitted to fetch it for him. Mr. ——— at length, after much intreaty, prevailed upon the surgeon to give him a decoction, but the sailor died in a few days. Seamen abused when sick.—Case of another —dies.

On board the ———, another ship, in which Mr. ——— was, the same sort of treatment prevailed. The cabin boy, who went by the name of ———, was singularly oppressed. Mr. ———, the chief mate seemed to take a delight in persecuting him. It happened one day, that the tea kettle, the management of which belonged to this boy, was not boiled in time; upon which the aforesaid chief mate threatened to beat him, as soon as ever the breakfast should be over. On board the ———. Case of the cabin boy—drowns himself.

The poor boy, on account of his former ill usage, was terrified at his threat, and betook himself to the lee fore chains. When the breakfast, however, was over, the chief mate came out of the cabin, and, not forgetting his promise, took a piece of rope out of his pocket, calling out at the same time, "Paddy."—The boy, seeing and hearing this, and perceiving also that Mr. ——— was approaching towards him, immediately jumped into the sea, which was very high at the time, and was drowned. This happened on the outward-bound passage.

At

Cafe of  
James Allifon—dies.

At another time when the vessel was lying at Benin, James Allifon, was very ill. Mr. ——— ordered him down into the womens room to scrape it. The above Allifon accordingly went, but, having received several bruises before by means of a rope used upon him by Mr. ———, which bruises occasioned him to be in a feeble state, he was unable to perform the allotted task. Upon this Mr. ——— asked him why he did not proceed in his work. He replied, "that he was really unable." He had no sooner uttered these words, than Mr. ——— threw an handspike at him from the deck, which struck him with great violence upon the breast. In consequence of the blow he immediately fell down, and, though he began to recover a little afterwards, he lived but four days.

General description of their treatment.

Mr. ——— says, that the treatment of the seamen in this ship was cruel from the very beginning to the end of the voyage; that ropes and handspikes were in common use, and that the seamen were also kicked and beaten with the fist for only imaginary faults. He says also that he cannot now recollect any more specifick instances of ill usage, but can assert with truth, in general terms, that seamen were very ill used in those ships, in which he failed in the slave trade.

On board the Africa of Bristol. Cafe of the cook—dies.

In a former paragraph it was said that the slaves attempted to rise on board the Africa, a Bristol Guineaman, and then lying in Old Calabar River. On board this vessel was a black seaman, who acted in the capacity of a cook. This man was suspected of having encouraged the slaves to rise, as before stated, and of having furnished them with the cooper's tools, in order that they might knock themselves out of irons.

From this supposition merely, and without any proof of the fact, he was ordered into the main-top: A neck-collar was there put upon him, and he was chained to the main-mast head. In this situation he was obliged to remain night and day. He had only one plaintain and one pint of water per day allowed him: nor had he any other covering than one pair of long trowsers, to shield him from the inclemency of the night.

The Africa at length, having completed her cargo, dropt down the river, in order to leave the coast. The Captain, however, conceiving the punishment, inflicted upon the cook, to have been of too short a duration, sent him on board the ———, in which Mr. ——— was, to have it continued there. He was accordingly chained in the ———'s main-top, and had the same allowance of plaintain and water, as in the former vessel. Having been in the main-tops of the two vessels for about five weeks, that is, three weeks in that of the first, and a fortnight in that of the second, and having experienced inconceivable misery in both, he was relieved by death.

The above unfortunate man was at the time of his death a most shocking spectacle; for, about three days before, he had been delirious, and had attempted to free himself from his fetters. In the struggle, the chain that confined him, had rubbed the skin from several parts of his body: the neck collar too had found its way to the bone. Hunger and oppression had reduced him to a skeleton. These circumstances contributed to make his appearance horrible. Mr. ——— lent an hand to heave him out of the top into the river, and from that circumstance saw the situation he was in. His remains were immediately devoured by the sharks.

Loss in the different voyages.

Mr. ——— says, that in his first voyage in the ———, about 25 seamen were lost to the best of his knowledge out of about 35; and in his second, about 15 out of 35; and in his third, about 24 out of about 35 or 37. In this voyage Captain Penny, one of the delegates from Liverpool, in opposition



opposition to Sir William Dolben's Bill, was second mate. This gentleman afterwards commanded the Cavendish. In the — 35 were buried before they came to Virginia. In the — about 15 or 16 on the coast and in the Middle Passage. In the — about 5. In the — about 4. In the latter vessel several of the seamen were carried sick and lame into the West Indies.

Mr. ——— says, that he has seen seamen in the different West India islands, but particularly in Jamaica, lying on the wharfs and other places in an ulcerated and helpless state. Some of these he had known before, and knew also that they were such as had been discharged or had deserted from Guineamen on their arrival there. Of others he enquired how they came into that situation, and to what vessels they belonged. Their usual reply was, "That they came out of Guineamen, and that they were unable to get their pay." On asking them how they could think of leaving their ships before they received their wages, they replied, "That they chose rather to come on shore than stay on board, and be used in a barbarous manner."

Dreadful situation of such as are put adrift in the West Indies— Fate of many of them there.

The above people he has seen begging about and driven to such distress, that he has often carried them a little provisions from his own ship. He has seen them ulcerated from the knee pan to the ankle, and in such a state, that no ship whatever would receive them. He has seen them also dying on the wharfs through hunger and disease, and instances have come before him of negroes carrying their dead bodies to Spring Path to be interred.

Mr. ——— being once in a West Indiaman at Barbadoes, was accustomed to go on shore to the watering wharf. He has seen there several Guinea seamen in great distress, and in want of the common necessaries of life, with their legs in an ulcerated state, eaten up by the chieles, and their toes rotting off, without any person to give them any assistance, or to take them in. On this wharf a shed had been built, in order that the slaves in wet weather might get under it and be dry. In this shed he has seen them lying, nor had they any other place to go to, except that a negro was now and then kind enough to take them into his hut.

Mr. ——— is therefore strongly of opinion, that a very considerable number of those seamen, who from cruel usage are forced to desert in the West Indies from the different Guineamen that arrive there, annually perish, after having experienced a state of misery, which no pen can be equal to the task of describing.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from several Conversations with him, and  
his own Papers.

---

No. VIII.

No. VIII.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. — was three voyages to the coast of Africa for slaves. In the first and second he was too young to take much notice of the trade. In the third, to which he wishes to confine himself, and which was made in the year 1776, he commanded a ship called the —, from the port of London to the Gold Coast.

Productions  
of the Gold  
Coast.

Mr. — says, that that part of the coast of Africa, which is called the Gold Coast, is rich in many valuable commodities. He has seen and purchased ivory, gold dust, palm oil, ebony, and lignum vitæ. There are a variety of other valuable woods, with the names of which he is unacquainted.

Character of  
the natives--  
might be  
brought over  
to a new  
commerce.

The people on the Gold Coast are very clever as manufacturers, which their working on iron, gold, cotton, and other articles, sufficiently evince. They are hardy and robust in their constitution, and withal very industrious. They are much attached to trade and commerce, and Mr. — has no doubt, but that they would very gladly embark in any plan that might be pointed out to them, however laborious the employment, if encouragement were but given them.

Mr.



Mr. — has been informed by the black chiefs and traders, that some of the natives are reduced to slavery in consequence of their crimes. The crimes that merit such punishment, are murder, adultery, and theft. Some also become slaves in consequence of debt. He bought himself an whole family, who were sold to pay a debt contracted by the husband and the father.

Some of them become slaves in consequence of crimes and debt.

The largest order of slaves he supposes to consist of kidnapped people, or people fraudulently and forcibly taken off, either by individuals, who have lain in wait for them, or by parties, that have gone out for the purpose of catching all they might meet with, or of falling upon the skirt of a village by surprize. The latter is an act of publick robbery, though it has been falsely termed war. Mr. — never saw any of the natives stolen, but he once purchased a boy, whom he brought to England and educated. This boy informed him, that he had been kidnapped out of a garden by some black men, and carried away from home. He has heard the same tale from others, and therefore believes that this method is much practised in the country.

The great bulk of them from robbery — A boy kidnapped.

He is farther induced to believe it, because there were several young people on board his ship, from the age of four to twelve, who had no relations on board.

Children on board the — without any relations. Conclusion from thence.

Another circumstance, which has influenced him in his opinion, is the following. He was once on the coast when there was a great war between two nations. At that time all trade was stopped. Not a slave was brought from the country to market, till the palavar or peace was settled. When the war ceased, then people were brought in, and trade became as brisk as before. Mr. — always understood that prisoners of war between kings and princes were never immediately sold, but kept as ransomers till the dispute was over, when most of them were exchanged, and but a few fold.

War between two nations — trade stopped — ceases — Trade revived — prisoners reported to be exchanged.

By these circumstances it would appear, that war puts an end to these depredations, making it unsafe for people to go out and rob, and to return with their booty; but that on the cessation of a war, these practices are resumed with safety, for then it is that the trade becomes as brisk as before, whereas during its continuance trade was stopped.

Robbery and not war the support of the slave trade.

He begs leave to mention another circumstance, which has contributed also to make him form such an opinion, which is, that he never saw any slaves brought down to be sold, that had been ever wounded with any weapon of war.

No slaves on board the — with wounds. Natives reported to have been often fraudulently taken off by the Europeans.

Mr. — has repeatedly heard of captains of Guineamen, taking off the natives either by treachery or force, but never saw any instances of it himself.

The great men of the country have their slaves, whom Mr. — supposes to have been chiefly slaves by birth. It is the business of these to attend their masters, to row and manage their canoes, and do other menial offices. He never saw them beaten or ill used on any occasion.

Country slaves — their employment — well used in Africa.

The black traders, who speak the English and other languages, and are very clever at calculation, travel inland for slaves, whom they bring down to the coast both by land and water. The number brought down at a time is very uncertain. They are put into prisons or guard houses, till they are sold. The Europeans always examine before they buy them. They look principally

Method of bringing them down — sickly refused — traders principally trusted with

goods--leave principally at their teeth and limbs. Slaves must be scarce indeed, if any relations in are purchased that are sickly. As soon as the bargain is made, they are pawn. brought on board in canoes, with their arms pinioned and secured. It may be mentioned here, that the black brokers receive goods on credit, for the reimbursement of which in slaves, they leave their relations as pledges. These are usually called pawns.

Medium of exchange The medium of exchange on the Gold Coast is called an ounce. An ounce is valued at £4. and an acky at 5s currency, but the one £2 and the other 2s. 6d. in trade, so that 16 ackies make an ounce. A man in the year 1776, was valued at rather more than 9 ounces, and a woman at more than 7. The following account may help to elucidate the matter.

—affort- ments for the purchase of each.	Goods for one Man.		value.		Goods for one Woman.		value.			
			oz.	ack.			oz.	ack.		
1	Roll Tobacco	- - -	1	8	1	Roll Tobacco	- - -	1 8		
3	Ankers Brandy	- - -	1	8	2	Ankers Brandy	- - -	1 0		
1	Cafe Geneva	- - -	0	6	1	Cafe Gin	- - -	0 6		
1	Chintz	- - -	0	8	1	Gun	- - -	0 6		
1	Cotton	- - -	0	8	1	Quarter Barrel Powder	-	0 8		
1	Patch	- - -	0	6	1	Chilloe	- - -	0 10		
1	Red Romal	- - -	0	8	1	Cotton	- - -	0 8		
1	Soot ditto	- - -	0	6	1	Chintz	- - -	0 8		
1	Half Barrel Powder	-	1	0	1	Patch	- - -	0 6		
1	Gun	- - -	0	6	1	Dean Romal	- - -	0 6		
1	Chilloe	- - -	0	10	1	Soot ditto	- - -	0 6		
5	Ackies Gold	- - -	0	10	1	Keg Tallow	- - -	0 3		
6	Lead Bars	- - -	0	1½	4	Lead Bars	- - -	0 2		
1	Silefia	- - -	0	2	2	Iron Bars	- - -	0 4		
1	Half Say	- - -	0	10	1	Acky Gold	- - -	0 1		
1	Acky Gold Taker	- -	0	1	1	Acky Gold Taker	- -	0 1		
			9	2½			7	3		
	Sterling	£	18	6	3	Sterling	£	14	7	6

Slaves look dejected when brought on board—men put into irons—fail in the night. Reason why. When the slaves first come on board, they appear to be very dejected. The men are immediately put in irons, and continue in them generally during the whole of the Middle Passage. They are fastened together by these in couples, both at the wrist and ankle. These irons very frequently chafe their flesh, and would produce sores, if not taken off and put upon their wrist and ankle on the other side. When they are all on board, it is usual to attempt to leave the coast in the night, that they may be out of sight of the land by the morning, so that when they are brought upon deck, they may not be in that agony of mind, which they would have constantly been in, while they had seen themselves gradually departing from their native shore. In the ———, though they had lost sight of the land when they were brought upon deck, they appeared gloomy, discontented, and fullen, in which state they continued for some days. Whenever Mr. ——— looked at them, they frowned, bit their nails, and in the language of their country cursed him in a bitter manner.

Tonnage of the ——— Number of slaves on board— It is common in most ships to stow the slaves so thick together, that they have not room to turn. Mr. ——— has frequently seen such a number on board a vessel, that they have not had as much room as their length multiplied into their breadth would contain. In the ———, which was of the burthen of 200 tons, only 230 slaves were taken from the coast, notwithstanding



standing which, the slaves had but just room to stow. The height between decks was about 5 feet, and there was no platform. Mr. ——— had also the advantage of wind sails. He had moreover a very good sick birth, which very few ships in the trade have. Though he was thus extraordinarily fitted out, yet the slaves continually complained of heat. There were, however, times when they suffered more than at others. This was during the rains, which are frequent and violent on the Middle Passage, for on these occasions the gratings were obliged to be covered over, that the slaves might be kept dry. At these times he has seen them faint and languishing, so much so, that he has been obliged to bring some of them upon deck, and release them from their irons, otherwise he is confident that they would have been soon suffocated. One of the greatest scenes of misery he almost ever saw, was that of the slaves standing under the gratings, ready to drop with heat, and a want of air, their tongues all the time hanging out of their mouths. Mr. ——— was so sensible of their pain, as to have invented fans for their relief. Mr. ———, notwithstanding the distress they experienced, was so fortunate as to see his endeavours rewarded, by carrying into the West-Indies alive, all those whom he took from the coast.

The slaves are usually in fine weather brought upon deck at eight in the morning, and at five in the afternoon are turned below. They are fed twice in the day. Their food consists of boiled rice, Indian corn, horse beans, yams, oatmeal, peas, and in short, vegetable food, well seasoned with pepper and salt. No slave has more than a pint of water per day to drink. In the Middle Passage (which from the Gold Coast is usually on an average eight weeks) Mr. ——— was obliged to shorten the allowance of water to half a pint per day. He was not, however, driven to the necessity of throwing any of them overboard, though he has heard that others have done it.

While the slaves are upon deck, it is thought adviseable, for the sake of their health, that they should take exercise. For this purpose, one of the stoutest of the black boys is generally chosen, and a cat of nine tails is put into his hand. It is his business to give the signal to the rest of them to begin their motions. If they refuse to jump and dance about, it is his office also to whip them.

In some vessels the slaves rise, and the insurrection is attended with bad consequences. They had laid a plot also on board the ———, for the same purpose, but being detected before they could put it into execution, it ended without bloodshed on either side.

When the slaves arrive in the West-Indies, they are prepared for sale. Gun-powder and sulphur mixed with lime juice, is applied to such as have the disorder called the craw craws. This preparation is rubbed hard into the parts of the skin that are affected, by an iron hoop. Caustick is also applied to the yaw spots, to burn them off. Having undergone the operation, they are anointed with palm oil. In healthy voyages there may be about ten in an hundred that are sickly, in unhealthy weather there is no rule. When they arrive, the sickly are generally sold by vendue or public auction, and are bought chiefly on speculation by the Jews. Some do not fetch more than two dollars per head. There are others in such a state, that no one is found to purchase them. These lie on board till they die, which Mr. ——— has seen, but he never saw any of them thrown overboard till they were dead.

Sold by  
scramble—  
description  
of it—  
relations  
separated.

Mr. — says, that the agents in the West-Indies never concern themselves, whether they separate relations and friends by the mode of sale. He informed those in Grenada, to whom his vessel was consigned, that among his slaves were many relations, who had discovered such an attachment to each other, as to have been inseparable, and to have partaken of the same food, and to have slept on the same plank during the voyage, and he intreated that these and others might be sold to the same master. The agents only laughed at him for his humanity, told him that it would be an unusual case, and that it was his and their business to sell them to the best advantage. They therefore desired him to prepare them for immediate sale, and for that species of it, which is called the scramble. Mr. — was accordingly obliged to comply. He brought his slaves on shore, and conducted them to an area, hired and darkened for the purpose. He took care in this situation to place the husband close to his wife, and all such together as were connected by consanguinity or attachments. He desired them to take hold of each other's hands, and to cling together as fast as they could, in order, if possible that the rope, used by the scramblers, might include them all. This they did, but the confusion was so great, when the signal was given, and the ruffians rushed in, that several of them were parted, and probably met no more. There was nothing but shrieking and dismay; some fainted, others were knocked down and trampled upon: in short, the scene cannot be properly or adequately described.

Used cruelly  
in the  
colonies.

Mr. — is of opinion, that the slaves in the British colonies are used in general in a very barbarous manner. As a proof of it, he will give two or three instances, which now strike him.

Young ne-  
groee woman  
punished.

He once saw a very fine young woman in the island of Barbadoes, for a very slight offence to her mistress, stretched out with her belly on the ground, and quite naked, receive thirty-nine lashes. Every cut of the whip fetched blood from her flesh.

Usual mode  
of punish-  
ment.

He has seen four or five negroe boys and girls tied up by their hands to the ram's horns of a crane, and by means of the machine lifted from the ground. Their whole weight was suspended by their wrists. In this situation they were flogged with a bush of black ebony, which has ten times more prickles upon it than the green thorn bush of this country. The blood issued out at every stroke, and, to increase the pain, the bush was constantly dipped into salt water.

Negroe girl  
unmercifully  
beaten—her  
offence.

At another time he was on a visit at a plantation, upon which were several slaves, whom he had brought from Africa, and among these an old woman and three daughters. On inquiring for them, he was much surprised to hear they were at work in the field, as he had not sold them more than three days before. Upon this he walked out to see them before dinner. When he entered the field, he discovered the old woman at work with her hoe, who no sooner saw, than she ran to meet him, and out of joyfulness seized his hand. He inquired of her what had become of her daughters. She pointed them out at work, when one of them, of the age of ten or eleven, happening to turn her head on one side and to see them together, immediately left her work, and ran to join them. The overseer finding her running off, and directing her steps to Mr. —, ran after her. He had time however to take up a large clod of earth, and to throw it at her as she was running. It unfortunately hit her between the shoulders, and brought her down to the ground. He came up with her before she was able to rise, and beat her, as she lay with her face upon the earth, in the most unmerciful manner, with a cow skin. Mr. — immediately ran to



to the spot, and stopped his arm, exclaiming at the same time against his cruelty. He apologized by saying, that the chief overseer had ordered him not to let a slave leave the place of his station without permission, and that it would be impossible to carry on the business of the plantation, in which were upwards of 200 negroes, and only three white men, unless he was strict and severe on every occasion.

With respect to the seamen in the slave trade, Mr. — says, that some enter voluntarily into it, not knowing the ill treatment practised in ships that perform these voyages. Others get into debt to crimps and landlords, who are employed by African merchants and captains, to ensnare the giddy and thoughtless, by keeping them in a state of intoxication till the vessel is ready to sail. They have then their option to go to Africa, or to goal.

Method of  
procuring  
seamen for  
the slave  
trade.

The victualling of seamen on board merchant ships, is generally left to the captains: some of whom give them good allowance, and others again keep them very short. The gun barrel is generally made use of in vessels trading for slaves, to save the water. The last man who uses it, carries it to the mast head. The next that wants it must fetch it down. The weak and sickly (and particularly if landsmen) do it at the hazard of their lives.

Use the gun-  
barrel.

When a man is sick, very little notice is taken of him, except to abuse him. He is called a skulking idle rascal. If he should be lame by worms or ulcers, he is made to grind corn, and to do the dirty work of the ship. In short he is never spared.

Abused  
when sick.

Seamen, whether sick or well, are never allowed to sleep below on the Middle Passage. They are exposed to the heavy dews and rains at night, and to the scorching rays of the sun by day. They have no shelter. On their arrival in the West-Indies, they are obliged to take half their wages in the currency of the island, where the slaves are sold.

Have no  
shelter or  
covering.

The seamen in the slave trade are used worse beyond all comparison, than in any other. Mr. — has seen them flogged by their officers on the slightest occasions. He has seen them also beaten with ropes, knocked down with billets of wood, hand lead, handspikes, and in short, with whatever weapon first came in the way of their officers. The person, who sailed with him as chief mate, had been regularly initiated at Liverpool in this trade, and had contracted all the manners and habits of the captains, sailing in it from that port. He was accustomed to abuse the seamen on board the vessel. Mr. — frequently remonstrated with him on that subject. He was unable, however, to break him of his ferocity by any remonstrances that he made. He at length confined him, and, considering him at last as incurable, got rid of him as soon as he could.

Barbarously  
used by their  
officers.

Mr. — cannot recollect what number of seamen were lost in his first two voyages, but in his last, he lost none, or at least, not more than one. He says, however, that the slave trade is the grave of our marine, for that other ships have lost in a very heavy proportion. But a great loss, not to be omitted to be mentioned, is that which arises among such seamen as either desert, or are discharged from Guinea-men after their arrival in the West-Indies. He has seen seamen of that description in the streets, and lying about the wharfs, in the greatest distress, there. Many of these he believes actually perish. He is confident that not five in an hundred ever return to Europe, and that those who do are more fit for infirmaries, than for any employment.

The loss of  
them in the  
slave trade—  
Situation of  
such as are  
put adrift in  
the West-  
Indies—fate  
of many of  
them there.

employment afterwards. As one of his Majesty's officers, he would never impress a seaman from a slave vessel, because he should think himself wanting in duty to his sovereign and the state, were he to incorporate in a crew, such men as were likely to infect the rest, or as would retard the operations of a ship, being more fit for an hospital than for the naval service.

Date of the  
bills given  
for the pur-  
chase of  
slaves.

Mr. — does not know whether the slave trade is profitable or not. He has heard that some of the bills, given in payment for slaves, are drawn payable after sight. Some of his own, however, were drawn at eighteen, others at twenty-four, and others at thirty months after sight. He has heard also, that some are drawn payable not till three years after they are presented for acceptance.

THE



T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from his own Papers.

---

No. IX.

**M**R. — was two voyages to the coast of Africa for slaves. The first in the years 1760 and 1761, as a boy on board the snow —, Captain —, bound to the Isles de Los, to the windward of Sierra Leon, and from thence to Fredericksburgh in Virginia; the second as a Carpenter on board the ship —, Captain —, in the years 1768 and 1769, bound to Grand Cape Mount, and from thence to St. John's in Antigua, and afterwards to South Carolina. Both these vessels sailed from Liverpool. Mr. — has been also in all the West India islands.

No. IX.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give evi-  
dence.

Mr. — has seen ivory, rice, indigo, long and cayenne pepper, white cotton, a bark something like cinnamon, Indian corn, palm oil, Guinea corn, sugar cane, bees wax, and honey, in large quantities and on all parts of the coast. In smaller quantities he has seen tobacco, musk, and a spice like all-spice. Tobacco and all-spice were found only to leeward.

Productions  
of the coun-  
try, about  
the Isles de  
Los, and  
Grand Cape  
Mount.

To the above list may be added camwood in great plenty, particularly at Shebar in the river Galinas, brown and black ebony, cedar in abundance, a sort of red wood that takes a beautiful polish, yellow sanders, a wood something like fustick, which was cut for fire-wood, but which on being steeped into water emitted a yellow dye; with various other woods, the names of which were unknown to him, but which were fit both for cabinet work and dying.

Ingenuity of the natives in point of manufactures; might be brought over to a new commerce.

Mr. ——— says, that the natives are very clever. He has seen grass cloths, cloths also of cotton, some of them (blue and white) others (crimson, blue and white) but all of them striped; knives, daggers, mats, and other articles of their own manufacture, which were made in a neat and useful manner, and is of opinion that if any encouragement were given them, they would be equal to, as well as desirous of embarking in, any new species of trade.

Reduced to slavery by war, and crimes.

Mr. ——— has heard that some of the slaves are prisoners taken in war, but does not know it. He has reason to believe that several of them are convicts. Murder, adultery, and theft, are the crimes for which they are sentenced to slavery. If the evidence is clear in the first instance, the accused person is immediately executed; if doubtful, he is made a slave. Of crimes, adultery is the largest source of supplying the slave trade. In all cases there is a trial before the chief man, and the other principal people of the place. How far the judges are interested in the decision Mr. ——— does not know, any farther than that the chief man has a tax or tribute on every slave. He has heard from some slaves on board that they were convicts, but that they had been unjustly accused.

Great bulk of them by treachery & force. Slaves declare they had been so taken. Obligated to be put forcibly into the boats.

Mr. ——— is of opinion, that by far the greatest body of the slaves shipped from Africa are such as have been made so by treachery and force. Being able to talk a little of the language of some that were put on board, he has been repeatedly informed by them, that they have been way-laid by the natives, and treacherously torn away from their connexions; wives from their husbands, and husbands from their wives. Many of these have gotten into the canoes to be brought on board the ships with extreme reluctance, and many have been obliged to be put into them by force.

Trader sells a boy—is kidnapped in his way home. Sold in the river Galinas.— dies.

Mr. ——— does not rest these assertions solely upon the accounts received from the kidnapped people themselves, but upon his own knowledge. While the ——— lay upon the coast, a black man came down with a boy, whom he sold to a trading vessel lying there at the same time. As he was travelling home with his goods (the purchase of the boy) he was attacked in the thicket by four men, who stripped him of every thing he had, and brought him to the ——— shallop, which was then up the river Galinas, to be sold. Mr. ——— was in the shallop at the time, and therefore can speak to the circumstance. The above man, having been purchased, was brought to the ——— ship. He had not been long there before one of the kings came on board, who, hearing his tale, sent in pursuit of the robbers, but without effect. The unhappy captive became afterwards sulky, and would not eat, and he died of grief, while the ship ——— lay upon the coast.

Two young women decoyed by the traders to the water's edge. Treacherously sold for slaves.

At another time two black traders informed the Captain of the ——— that they would procure him two women slaves, if he would assist them in doing it. The Captain accordingly sent Mr. ——— with them to the distance, he believes, of some miles from the ship. The two young women were accordingly brought down, but under the pretence of seeing a relation at Suggery Bay to the windward of Cape Mount. When they had been enticed under this pretence to the water's edge, they were ordered to be swam off on board the ———'s boat, in a very heavy surf, each of the women between two men. When they were put on board the ship they were treacherously sold for slaves.

One only with a wound on board the

In these ways Mr. ——— believes that a very considerable number of the natives of Africa annually become slaves, either by being way-laid and



and stolen, or decoyed from home under false pretences, and then seized and sold. Mr. ——— remembers but one to have been wounded with any weapon of war, and this was a Portuguese negroe, and a Christian, who had some time before been brought off a Portuguese island.

Besides the slaves, who immediately become so, in consequence of war, crimes, robbery, or fraud, there are some who have been in that situation in the country for a long time. Whether these were born slaves, or whether they were brought from the inland country and kept there, Mr. ——— cannot say. Certain he is, however, that these, who are considered as the country slaves, cultivate the land of their masters, and that their labour is by no means so excessive, nor their treatment so bad, as in the British colonies.

Country slaves—their employment—Their slavery not so grievous as in the colonies.

The Europeans who frequent the coast of Africa do not hesitate to steal the natives whenever an opportunity is offered them, or to take every advantage in their power, of which the following is an unquestionable instance. The Captain of the ———, in conjunction with the Captains of other ships then lying at Great Cape Mount, determined to make a descent on a village at night for the purpose of getting slaves. Mr. ———, in consequence of this, was ordered to take the command of a boat belonging to the ship ———. About twelve o'clock at night the boats from the other ships came alongside and joined him. They then proceeded together to Mana, to the windward of Grand Cape Mount, which was the village fixed upon, and where they were ordered to take all upon whom they could lay their hands. When they came there they moored their boats to a grapnel, out of the way of the surf, and left in each of them two people armed. They were not long before they entered the huts. They seized several of the inhabitants without much noise, for they had previously determined to muffle the mouth of every one they should take with handkerchiefs and oakum, and to tie them hand and foot together. A woman, however, into whose house they were entering, suspecting what was the matter, shrieked aloud and made a terrible crying. This threw the village into an immediate alarm. The inhabitants ran to their arms, and rushed out to defend themselves. They began a straggling fire upon them, which in a little time became general. The boats crews, unable to stand against it, fled with precipitation to the water. Several of them were killed or wounded in their flight. Mr. ——— was shot in one of his thighs, the marks of which he has now upon him, and five of his people were missing, whom, as he never saw them afterwards, he believes to have been killed in the skirmish. Notwithstanding these disasters, he had time to bring down five women, whom he put into his boat, and conducted afterwards to the ship. These were carried to the West Indies, and the port being just opened at South Carolina they were sold there.

Kidnapping practised by the whites—Descent on the village of Mana in the night—several of the inhabitants taken by surprise.

Mr. ——— says also, that it is not unusual for the Europeans to take away such of the natives as have been put on board them as pawns. Both in the ——— and in the ——— were some of this description, who had not been redeemed, and who were therefore carried from the coast, and sold with the rest as slaves.

Pawns taken off.

Mr. ——— has known several slaves to come 8 or 900 miles from the interior country. Some of them are brought by land, and others by water. The men always have their hands tied behind them, and their arms pinioned. The women and girls are in general unbound. When they come

Method of bringing down the slaves at Cape Mount.

come by water, they lie or sit in the bottom of the canoes. From three to ten is the usual number at a time.

Examined  
and made to  
dance.

On being landed they are confined in yards and sheds belonging to the black brokers. The men and women have both of them iron collars upon them. The men are also handcuffed in pairs, and their legs shackled. In this situation they are examined. Their teeth are particularly looked to. They are also made to jump about, and exert every limb, that it may be seen whether they are sound and healthy or not. Having been approved of, they are brought on board attended by the canoe boys, who are armed with cutlasses and daggers.

Boy killed  
at the fune-  
ral of a great  
man at  
Grand Junk.

At King Town, Grand Junk, in the year 1768 or 1769, a boy, who was refused by Captain ———, was killed at the funeral of a great man, the only instance which Mr. ——— recollects of the kind.

Slaves look  
dejected  
when  
brought on  
board—put  
into irons.

When the slaves come on board they are put into irons, the men always immediately, the women occasionally. The former are chained by the wrists and ankles in pairs, which are frequently sore from the weight and friction of the irons. If the wrist should be sore, the manacle is taken from it, and both legs are confined; if the ankle should be sore, both hands are fettered. These irons are not otherwise taken off till the ship's arrival at the port of delivery.

Height of  
their rooms,  
have plat-  
forms.

The height of the room in which the slaves were confined on board the ———, was about four feet six inches. There were no platforms in the mens rooms, but there were in those of the boys and women. The height of their rooms in the ——— was about five feet six inches, and there were platforms in each of them throughout the vessel.

Are much  
crowded.

Mr. ——— cannot tell the exact space which each slave may have to himself, but they lie exceedingly crowded, and in a manner one upon another, and can neither lie on their backs nor at full length, nor change their posture with ease. This frequently occasions quarrels among them, in which some are disabled.

Dreadful si-  
tuation in  
consequence  
of heat.

It is also very injurious to their health. They are mostly bathed in sweat, and some of them are seen in a fainting and nearly suffocated state. They are heard shrieking below for air. On being brought upon deck, some of them faint away, nor is this a wonder, for their breath below is as hot as steam, and they must feel, if they have any feeling at all, when exposed so suddenly to the air. Mr. ——— has known instances when they have died below, and where one of them has not been able to come upon deck, because another chained to his leg has been dead, and he was unable to drag the body after him. Mr. ——— has knocked the dead person out of irons.

Have sick  
rooms—pu-  
nished for  
refusing me-  
dicine.  
Number  
purchased  
and lost.

The accommodations for the sick (a room in the fore part of the ship) are but little better, and are by no means sufficient for people in such a state. The situation of such is truly wretched. But little care or notice is taken of them. They are suffered to die in their own filth, and are then thrown overboard like dogs. If they refuse the medicines that are offered them they are beaten with a cat, their jaws forced open, and the medicines poured forcibly down their throats. The disorders which they contract arise from fretting, their confined situation, and bad air. In the ——— about 220 were purchased, and between 60 and 70 were buried. In the ——— about 400 were bought, and about 50 lost. The first vessel was



was about 120, and the second about 200 tons. There were no windfalls nor ventilators on board either of them.

On board the slave ships are many relations. Mr. ——— has known Relatives in the same ship. father and son, and brothers and sisters, brought on board, who have joined in lamenting their condition. The men and women are separated, and kept in ignorance of each other. The discovery of their being related to each other is generally made in the port of delivery. Mr. ——— has known three or four instances of women being brought on board, who had children sucking at their breasts.

In good weather the slaves are usually brought upon deck at eight o'clock in the morning, where they remain about eight or nine hours, Time and nature of their meals. or till four or five in the afternoon. They are fed twice a day, namely, at nine in the morning, and in the afternoon between three and four. Their food consists of rice and horse-beans alternately. There are ten in each mess, and to each mess is allowed six quarts of provision. Water is also served to them at their meals. They have half a pint at each time, namely, at nine and four. This is their whole allowance for twenty-four hours.

If the weather be bad, they are had up only in rotation, that is, one mess at a time, to take a mouthful of air. When they are up, they take their food and water. Having staid about twenty minutes upon deck, they are sent down, and another mess succeeds them.

During their stay upon deck in fine weather, they are made to dance Compelled to dance. and sing. If they refuse they are flogged, or experience the thumb screw; and if they dance heavily, lazily, or reluctantly, the cat is used to quicken them.

There are times when they sing (for it is called singing) of their own Sing—subject of their songs. accord. But on these occasions the subject of their songs is mournful, and contains principally their history, and the wretchedness of their situation. This is the way in which they live in the Middle Passage. Length of the Middle Passage. The passage from the Isles de Los to Fredericksburg was seventeen weeks, and from Grand Cape Mount to St. John's, in Antigua, about eight. The average Middle Passage from the leeward coast to the West Indies, is about eight, and from the windward, nine or ten weeks.

Several of the slaves make attempts to jump over board, but Mr. ——— Attempt to jump over board. never knew any of them succeed, as the crew were constantly employed in watching them. Their reason is either to gain their liberty, or to drown themselves in the attempt.

Several also, repining at their condition, refuse sustenance with a view Refuse sustenance—their mouths wrenched open—punished. to starve themselves to death. This was the case both in the ——— and in the ———. They were invariably flogged and beaten to make them eat. The more obstinate were tortured with the thumb screw. The mouths of others were forced open by means of an hard stick kept on purpose. These practices were put into execution upon them in both ships.

Others also, to extricate themselves from slavery, attempt to rise. An Attempt to rise in the attempt of this kind was discovered on board the ———. They were, discovered—punished. many of them, unmercifully beaten on this occasion, so much so, that one or two of them were found dead the next morning. Others had thumb screws fixed upon them to make them discover the ringleader.

Go mad—  
are punished  
—die.

It is not unusual also for some of the slaves, in consequence of their situation, to go mad. Mr. ——— remembers some instances of this on board the ———. When they were found to be delirious, they were separated from the rest and brought upon deck. They were then flogged and ironed. A large iron collar was afterwards locked about their necks, with chains fastened to it, which chains were fixed to the ring bolts on the deck. All those, whom Mr. ——— recollects to have been in this situation, died.

Arrive in  
the colonies,  
—prepared  
for sale. No  
pains to pre-  
vent rela-  
tions from  
being sepa-  
rated.

When the slaves arrive in the West Indies they are prepared for sale. The young ones are made to pull the grey hairs out of the heads of the old ones to make them look younger. The slaves are also anointed with palm-oil. When they are sufficiently prepared they are exposed to sale. There are no pains taken to avoid a separation of relations, but they are sold as the purchaser chuses to buy them. The slaves sold from the ——— and from the ——— were not disposed of by scramble.

Number  
and condi-  
tion of the  
sickly.

On board the ——— there were about 30 refuse or sickly slaves. Mr. ——— has seen slaves in such an emaciated state, as to fetch only 2 dollars per head, and others, for whom no purchasers could be found on any terms. These were kept on board, either till they became better, or till they died.

Allowance  
of food in  
the colonies.

Mr. ——— does not know the proportion of food that may be given to slaves in the colonies, but believes it to be very small, because he has known many of them take refuge on board the ships of war, who were driven to it by hunger.

Nature, du-  
ration and  
method of  
their labour.

With respect to their work, they are worked more or less at the choice of the managers, but always hard. In crop time their intervals of rest are but very short. It is usual for them in the evening to pick grass, which is a very tedious and laborious employment. Mr. ——— has frequently seen them punished, because their bundles were not sufficiently large in the eye of the overseer.

It is customary to see several of them at work in chains. Others are obliged to drag after them a log of wood, and, notwithstanding the weight of it, to keep up with the rest of the gang: while others, who have run away, are distinguished with iron collars on their necks, and large triangles rivetted on the outside of them, spreading out about two feet. These triangles are of iron, and have a similar appearance to those put upon the necks of swine in England, to prevent them from breaking hedges, and straying in the fields at large. The weight of the whole may be from ten to twelve pounds.

Their  
cloathing.

The women are in general cloathed with a short jacket, and a petticoat that comes below their knees, both of which are made of Osna-burg, or a coarse kind of stuff. The men are cloathed with a frock and a pair of trowsers of the same materials. They have each a suit of these once a-year, but have no shoes, shirts, shifts, hats, or bonnets; and they are oftener seen with no cloaths above their waists than with them. The children till about eight or nine are quite naked.

Their pu-  
nishments.

With respect to punishment for omissions or neglect it is arbitrary. Mr. ——— has frequently seen them flogged with a long lashed whip, for no other reason than because they were thought to be slow in their work. The overseer does as he pleases,



For regular crimes, however, or what are so called, there are regular punishments. There is a person called a Jumper, who calls at people's houses to know if they have any slaves to be flogged, and who gets his living by this employment. The slaves who are marked for punishment are flogged in different ways. They are sometimes stretched out with their bellies on the ground. In this case there are four negroes to hold them, one at each hand and foot. In this posture the whip is applied to their backs. At other times their hands are fastened by means of irons to a kind of gallows. They are suspended there for a while, when a heavy weight is tied to their feet to prevent them from springing up. Confined in this manner they receive the lash. The whip generally takes out a piece of flesh at every stroke. To make the punishment more severe, the person who flogs them, after having cut the slave on one side of the back, changes sides in order to cross or chequer it. When this is over the poor slaves are again flogged. This is done with a switch of ebony, the prickles of which open any bruises that may have been made on the back, and let out the congealed blood. Their backs are afterwards pickled. Mr. — has repeatedly seen the latter punishment inflicted both in Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Jamaica.

These punishments are so often and so severely inflicted, that it is impossible to go among the slaves in the West India islands without seeing a very great number whose backs are chequered with the lash. Few without marks of the lash.

Mr. — is of opinion that the present decrease of slaves in the West India islands is to be attributed to ill usage, the want of marriage institutions, and the neglect of such of the negro children as are born. Their decrease to be attributed to three causes.

With respect to the first cause, he knows that where slaves have been treated well they have increased. One instance of which is the following. A gentleman of the name of Bishop, who lived in Speights-town, Barbadoes, had not, in the year 1779, purchased a slave for many years. Notwithstanding this, his slaves had increased considerably. In the year mentioned they consisted of about 150, all of whom, except the very old ones, were Creoles. This he learnt from Mr. Bishop himself, as well as from several of the slaves whom he saw, but he cannot tell in what proportion they increased. Their increase, however, was to be attributed to good usage and care. To ill usage. Instance of an estate that by good usage wanted no supplies from Africa.

With respect to the second, Mr. — believes that matrimony is not even known among the slaves, if he excepts those on the estate of Mr. Bishop. Some attention, he understands, is now and then paid to lying-in women, who have more food at this than at other times, and are indulged with a month's cessation from labour after lying-in. But this is not always the case, as the custom differs on different plantations. To a want of marriage institutions, and care of lying-in women.

With respect to the third, the children are tied to their mother's backs, and accompany them to the field, or they are left in the huts under the care of an old woman who is past her labour, and incapable of nursing them. To a neglect of such children as are born.

Mr. — begs leave to close his remarks on the West Indian slavery with the following anecdote. On many plantations some of the slaves are allowed to go out and work for themselves, paying their owners a certain weekly sum. It frequently happens that women, who are thus sent out, come on board the men of war in great numbers, and prostitute themselves to the seamen to gain the weekly payment for their owners, and something additional for themselves. Women prostitute themselves to maintain their masters.

Mr.

Methods  
taken at Li-  
verpool to  
procure sea-  
men for the  
slave trade.

Mr. ——— is of opinion that one half of the seamen at least who go into the slave trade have been seduced into the employ. The landlords encouraged by the merchants and captains, and incited likewise by the prospect of two months advance, intice seamen into debt, and send them afterwards purposely to prison. The poor fellows have then an offer made to them to go to Guinea, and, desirous of regaining their liberty, they embrace it.

Seamen  
are paid in  
currency.

The seamen who are found in this trade are in every respect used worse than in any other. After having experienced a fatiguing voyage, they are obliged to take one half of the wages due to them when they arrive in the West Indies, in the currency of the country at which the slaves are sold.

Nature and  
quantity of  
their food.

They suffer also exceedingly in point of provisions. In the ——— and in the ——— the allowance was sometimes 3 lb. and at other times 4 lb. of bread per week to each man, and half a pound of salt damaged beef per day. Hungry or not this was their only allowance.

Abused  
when sick.

When sick they had nothing to comfort them, neither wine nor spirits, so far otherwise, that they fared even worse than before. The small allowance before given them was then taken away, the Doctor saying, that this was the only method to cure them. On these occasions he would sometimes give them an emetick: at others, instead of nourishment and comfort, they were beaten in a barbarous manner, with a large supple cane, at the end of which was worked in a three inch rope pointed with a wall knot, and called out of diversion "grog." When the poor people were so weak and low, that they were unable to crawl out of their tyrants way, they were kicked about, the ruffians generally adding at the same time, "Why don't you die and be d——d."

Use the gun  
barrel—the  
relator flog-  
ged for  
fetching it  
for a sick  
man.

With respect to the water, the seamen were allowed to drink it as often as they pleased, but always through a gun barrel, which they were obliged to fetch some times from the top, and at others from the topmast cross-trees, as often as they wanted it. Whenever a seaman had done with it he was obliged to return it to its place, without permitting another to make use of it while it remained below. Mr. ——— has been flogged till he has nearly fainted, for no other reason than because he fetched the gun barrel for a seaman, who, in consequence of sickness, was unable to go for it himself.

Have no  
shelter—bed-  
ding thrown  
overboard.

Another hardship, which the seamen endure in the slave trade, is a want of shelter. They are never permitted to sleep within decks till the slaves are sold, so that during this space of time they are exposed both night and day. What added to the misery of the people on board the ——— was, that the captain threw all their bedding overboard while upon the coast, so that they had nothing but the bare decks to lie upon till they arrived in Virginia.

Barbarously  
used on  
board the  
———  
Case of the  
Carpenter of  
the vessel.

With respect to ill usage in point of personal suffering no man can draw a just picture of it, it so far exceeds the bounds of description. In the ——— the Carpenter was repeatedly tied up to the main shrouds for trifling, if not imaginary, offences, and most inhumanly beaten there. At one time in particular he was tied up for near the space of two hours, merely because the pump was choaked through the foulness of the well. While he was thus tied up, the Captain continued to beat him, taking spells, and drinking grogg, and then returning to the punishment. The

Carpenter



Carpenter became ill in consequence of it, and continued so for some time.

In the same vessel was a seaman from Ireland, of the name of Lawrence Smithie. This man, on account of bad living and lying on the bare decks became ill of the flux, and was so weak at last as not to be able to get into the head rails to ease himself. He therefore went aft to the women's necessary on the quarter deck. The Captain finding it out beat him severely for it.

Cafe of Lawrence Smithie—he dies.

In a few days afterwards when the poor man became so emaciated and weak as to be forced to crawl upon his hands and knees, he went to the Captain in that posture, and solicited a little nourishment to support him. The Captain, instead of acceding to his request, beat him cruelly with a stick, and drove him forward on the main deck, where he was found dead the next morning. It was the opinion of all on board, that Lawrence Smithie owed his death to the Captain, and Mr. ———, the Mate, would have had him apprehended in Virginia, but that he feared he should meet with no better success than the people of the Hare snow had at the same place, an account of which Mr. ——— intends giving hereafter.

In short there was such ill treatment on board the ——— upon the coast, both by the Captain, Mate, and Boatswain, that some of the men jumped overboard, trusting more to the mercy of the sharks than to that of the officers of the vessel. When they were taken up by the ships boats, they were put (both their legs) into irons, gagged with a pump bolt, and then beaten: thumb screws were occasionally also put upon them. They were afterwards put into the boats. When they were there, an iron collar and chain were fastened to their necks; and (both their legs being still in irons), they were locked to the risings of the boat, and were there made to row about on different kinds of duty at the Captain's pleasure. Mr. ——— says that the people were also knocked down on board the ——— with handspikes, which were thrown after them.

Several jump overboard—taken up—punished cruelly.

On board the ——— the seamen were equally ill-used, as in the former vessel. There were two brothers on board of the name of Walker, from Cornwall. These were so cruelly beaten and oppressed that they jumped overboard, but being taken up by the ships boats were brought on board again, and served nearly in the same manner as those of the same description in the ———. Thomas Walker in consequence of this ill usage became mad and died. His brother William, though not delirious, soon afterwards died from the same cause.

Barbarous used on board the ———. Cafe of Thomas and William Walker—they both die.

On board the ——— was a landman from Liverpool, of the name of Edward Hilton. He had been out in one of the boats watering all the day, that is, from three in the morning till late at night, and had been without any food for the whole time. He complained to the boatswain, who was then officer of the boat, that he was hungry, who immediately beat him with the tiller. The same boatswain going afterwards on board represented the conduct of Hilton to the officers of the ship. Upon this he was ordered out of the boat, and on his getting into the vessel was beaten both by the doctor and mate at the same time. The former struck him in the eye with his cane, which brought on a mortification, and occasioned the loss of it. Being afterwards beaten and kicked about he fell into a decline, so that on Mr. ———'s return from Junk River (where he had been absent for three weeks) to Grand Cape Mount, where the vessel lay, he did not at first know him, and was surprised when he made himself known. The

Cafe of Edward Hilton—dies.

next day after his return to the ship, he was ordered again into Junk River. Captain ——— finding the sloop or shallop putting off, ordered her to be brought to, and, in a rough and brutal manner, commanded Mr. ——— and the rest to take that 'white negro Hilton with them, and to 'put him on shore any where.' Being too weak to rise or to move, the poor man was accordingly lowered into the boat, where he had not been for more than twelve hours, when he expired.

Cafe of  
Johnson and  
another—  
perish  
miserably.

In the same ship ———, an old seaman, of the name of Johnson, and a young gentleman of some fortune, who had been sent on board to cure his extravagance, and to mend his manners, but whose name Mr. ——— does not now recollect, were both ill of the scurvy when he was sent up one of the rivers as before. On his return he inquired after them, and was informed by the crew that Captain ——— had ordered them to be taken on shore to a place up Cape Mount River, and to be buried up to their necks in sand. This, he said, was to be done to cure them of their disease. His order was accordingly obeyed. The poor men were conveyed there. They were left in the situation described, and never attended to afterwards, so that without doubt they were drowned by the tide flowing over their heads.

Cafe of John  
Leech—  
also of the  
relator.

The crew of the ——— having been much weakened by mortality, and the murder of an whole shallop's crew by the natives, Captain ——— was obliged to get hands from any vessel that could spare them. Among others who had been spared from other ships was an Irish seaman of the name of John Leech, who came from a ship called the Blossom of Liverpool. This person had by some means or other incurred the displeasure of the surgeon of the ———, who beat him in consequence of it so severely in the boat with the tiller, that the blood ran down on both sides of his head. The surgeon, not satisfied with this, complained afterwards to the Captain, and he was put (both his legs) into irons. A collar was also fastened to his neck, by means of which he was chained to the pumps. In this situation he remained without any shelter, and was obliged to work points and gaskets for the ship's sails. This was one part of his punishment. At other times however he was chained down in the boats, and there made to row on different kinds of duty with both his legs in irons. His punishment, including both the modes of it described, lasted about three months, at the end of which time being much emaciated and weak, he was loosened from the pumps, and his collar was taken off. One day after this he went aft, and, being much reduced, requested of the Captain that he would give him something to eat. The Captain, however, instead of satisfying his hunger, beat him very severely with a cane, one of those which grow in the country, and which captains of Guineamen cause to be procured for the purpose of beating seamen. This he did in so violent a manner, that the unhappy man the next morning was found dead. Mr. ——— was the person who was ordered to lay him on a grating, and to throw him overboard. He had no time to search for any bruises that might have been upon him, nor dared he to have done it if he had. He gave him a little victuals before he died. This was all he dared to do, and the poor man died with part of it in his mouth. This happened on the Middle Passage, and when the ——— had been some weeks at sea. Mr. ——— does not remember any other instances of cruelty to seamen of so glaring a nature as those now mentioned, but he never knew any other than cruel and oppressive usage in the slave trade. He himself did not escape unhurt, for two of his toes were materially injured, if not broken, by means of a cask thrown at him by the Mate.

Mr.



Mr. — has hitherto confined himself to his own vessels, but he begs leave to give such instances of cruel treatment to seamen, as have happened to come within his own knowledge on board others. The Hare snow, Captain Colley, was lying upon the coast when Mr. — was there. This inhuman monster exceeded those captains in cruelty whom Mr. — has mentioned. He was accustomed to chain his people to the windlass, in which situation Mr. — has seen them. He made use of handspikes or any thing he could seize to punish them, and in so cruel a manner, that the carpenter, carpenter's mate, cook, and cooper, died, as Mr. — was informed by the rest of the crew; in consequence of his blows. His behaviour was such that on the arrival of the vessel in Virginia he was apprehended. The Magistrates, however, were so far from attending to the complaints of the seamen, that they caused them to be publicly flogged for complaining, and the tyrant to escape, notwithstanding the bloody clothes of the murdered seamen had been saved and brought against him. Mr. — was at Fredericksburg at the time, and went in company with his mess-mates to hear the complaints lodged. He says that it is almost impossible for Guinea seamen to gain redress in those ports, to which the slaves are consigned for sale.

Barbarously  
used on  
board the  
Hare snow,  
Capt. Colley  
— the Cap-  
tain appre-  
hended—  
escapes.

Mr. — recollects also another vessel in which the same kind of treatment prevailed. When he was lying at Charleston, South Carolina, a snow called the Lilly, of Liverpool, Captain Scogham, was lying there. He flogged one of his seamen till out of weariness he could flog no more. He then made the men slaves come from the main deck and assist him in the butchery which he had begun. The operation lasted for two or three hours. When it was over, the dead body was carried on shore, but was stopped for examination. The jury who sat upon it brought in their verdict wilful murder, and Scogham was apprehended. The merchants, however, so far succeeded as to get him cleared, and he received no other punishment than that of lying in goal for two or three months.

Barbarously  
used on  
board the  
Lilly, Capt.  
Scogham—  
Captain ap-  
prehended—  
is brought in  
guilty—e-  
scapes.

Mr. — says, that he has been in the West India and other trades, that he had always plenty of provisions, that it was very rarely that a seaman died, that a very different system of treatment prevailed; and that, in his opinion, the slave trade is the reverse of all these points, and stands unparalleled and alone.

Provisions—  
usage, and  
mortality in  
other trades.

Mr. — is of opinion that the slave trade destroys many seamen annually. The —, which was but a small vessel, took out from Liverpool about fifteen persons in all, two of whom were lost on the coast, and four on the Middle Passage. In the — there were forty on board, including all, when she sailed from Liverpool, thirty-two of whom were lost before the voyage was finished: add to this, that she was obliged to be manned again from other ships. Among those that were put on board her on this occasion was the unfortunate John Leech before mentioned.

Loss of sea-  
men in the  
snow —  
and in the  
ship —.

Many seamen on their arrival at the port of sale desert from the slave vessels, several of whom additionally die there or in the neighbouring ports. Out of the —, four, who were all the remaining crew, except the Captain and boys, deserted at Fredericksburg. As to the —, Mr. — and two others left her to seek redress. Not being able to get it on shore, they applied to a man of war, but were not taken on board though they went to enter. Thus turned adrift and unable to gain redress, the other two, one a north countryman, named Robert Humble, and the other, George Bennet, died in the streets of Charleston. Mr. — saw them

Dreadful si-  
tuation of  
such as are  
put adrift in  
the West  
Indies—fate  
of many of  
them there.

them dead, but could not bury them, having scarcely any thing for himself.

But Mr. ——— does not confine himself to America or to the seamen of his own ship. He has been in all the West India islands, but never was in any of them when a Guineaman came in, but he has seen a number of distressed seamen lying about the wharfs and quays. These people are generally known by the name of wharfingers. They are such as desert from Guineamen. They are distinguished from other seamen by their emaciated appearance and ulcerated state—a state which is occasioned by bad and unwholesome provisions, an exposure to the weather, and ill usage. Mr. ——— is positive that many of these miserable objects die in the West Indies, for he has found them lying dead in empty sugar casks, but never had it in his power to bury them. Upon the whole, estimating those that are lost in the course of the voyage, and those that are lost after they desert in the West Indies, Mr. ——— considers the slave trade as the grave of our marine.



T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E

O F

Taken from certain Papers made out by the \_\_\_\_\_  
Committee, in the Relator's Prefence, and afterwards  
signed by himself there.

No. X.

**M**R. \_\_\_\_\_ was in the Slave Trade for four or five years, namely, from the year 1767 to 1772. His first voyage to the Coast of Africa was in the \_\_\_\_\_, of London, Captain \_\_\_\_\_; his second in the \_\_\_\_\_, of London, Captain \_\_\_\_\_; his third in a French ship, from Bourdeaux; and his fourth in a French ship from Brest. He was in all these voyages in the capacity either of first, second, or third mate. He was on different parts of the coast, from the country about the River Gambia to Angola, and once, when mate of the \_\_\_\_\_, he was fifteen months together in the River Cameroon.

No. X.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ says, that the Coast of Africa abounds with many noble productions, which would be fit for trade. He has seen ivory in great abundance in the Bight of Benin, gold dust on the Gold Coast, rice in the greatest plenty up the Gambia, tobacco all along the Coast, peppers of various sorts wild in almost every part, Indian corn on the Windward Coast, palm oil in abundance every where, and gums, with the names of many of which he was unacquainted, chiefly about the River Senegal, but on the other parts of the Coast also. All these Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has seen and purchased.

Q

The

The country also produces honey, bees-wax, palm wine, yams, and bananas, in great plenty all along the Coast, but the yams are particularly fine and abundant on the Island of Fernandipo. Melons, of different sorts, are to be found wild and luxuriant about the River Cameroon, and a fruit very much like the citron. Of the woods of the country Mr. ——— has only noticed two that struck him more than the rest. These were ebony, and a red wood fit for dying.

Ingenuity of the natives in point of manufactures—might be brought over to a new commerce.

Of their manufactures he gives the following account. He has seen and bought cotton cloths. Some of these were from four to fourteen inches wide, and about a yard in length. He has seen others of a much thicker texture than the former, which would make excellent coverings for a cot-bed. These were rather scarce. Both of them were blue and white. He has seen also grass cloths of different sorts and colours, some of a red, others of a straw or yellow, about a foot wide, and a yard long. To these he adds bracelets of gold, and Antelopes feet tipped with gold, to serve as tobacco-stoppers. All these were the workmanship of the Africans. They were made with great neatness, and were a sufficient proof that the fabricators of them were people of ingenuity and taste. Mr. ——— has no doubt that the natives of Africa would turn their attention to cultivation and trade for the numerous and valuable productions of their country, if the slave trade were once abolished.

The natives reduced to slavery by treachery and force.

To procure the articles, which the Europeans carry to the coast, and with which they dazzle the eyes, and bewitch the senses of the Africans, many of the latter are induced to enslave their own countrymen, either by treachery or force.

A young woman treacherously sells her sister in the river Cameroon.

When Mr. ——— belonged to the ——— of London, two sisters came on board her, as she was lying in the River Cameroon. The eldest being desirous of having some silk handkerchiefs, and other articles, which she could not get without an exchange of slaves, sold the youngest to Captain ———. The latter, finding her sister go on shore, and perceiving the treachery that had taken place, (for she was detained on board) took it so much to heart, that two people were obliged to watch her constantly for a week, lest she should find means to throw herself overboard, and put a period to her life.

Slaves declare they had been kidnapped—boys on board without parents—conclusion from thence.

Mr. ——— has no doubt but that the natives of Africa lie in wait for and kidnap each other, being actuated by the same motives as induced the one to betray the other, as just above mentioned. This he has heard both from men and women, who have been brought on board, and who have declared, that they were treacherously torn away from their children and connections; and he is farther induced to form such an opinion, because there were always boys on board, from the age of eight to twelve, without any parents, who could neither have been prisoners of war, nor criminals, but must have been taken in that manner.

War, falsely so called—is, in Africa, a piratical expedition.

The greatest number of the slaves, that are sold to the Europeans, become so, (according to the opinion of many) in consequence of war; but Mr. ——— apprehends, that what is termed war, is falsely so called, and is a piratical expedition, made by the traders for no other purpose than that of getting slaves.

Expeditions of the Bonny traders—are supplied with arms by the Europeans.

When a ship has broken trade at Bonny, (that is) when the Captain has paid the accustomed duties to the Chiefs, and has liberty to purchase slaves, the black traders arm three or four of their war canoes, in which they put from fifteen to thirty men, according to their size. The men are all armed with muskets, pikes, and other weapons, with which they are frequently



frequently supplied by the Europeans, on the credit of their voyage. A swivel is also fixed sometimes in the bow of the canoes. Thus equipped, they go up the rivers into the interior parts of the country. They are absent several days: when they return, they bring back a number of slaves, but seldom more than ten in each canoe, all, or almost all of which, Mr. ——— verily believes, have been taken by treachery and force, and these are such as they call *prisoners of war*.

As Mr. ——— was never up the rivers in these canoes, he cannot positively affirm, that the armed canoes take the natives in this manner, but he always understood that they did, while he was there, and considered it as an established point. There were one or two suspicious circumstances always attending these expeditions; first, that they always returned with a mixed cargo of men, women, and children; secondly, that the slaves, who composed these cargoes, were laid in the bottoms of the canoes, and concealed under mats of bamboo; and, thirdly, that they were mostly brought to the ships under cover of the night. This was the constant method of bringing them on board, while the ——— lay in Bonny River.

Return with slaves, whom they conceal under mats of bamboo.

Mr. ——— does not believe that there are many wars among the natives of Africa, according to the common acceptation of the word *war*, for he never saw any of the slaves, that had green wounds upon them. He has seen a few with old hurts, in the course of his four voyages, but none of them were ever purchased in any of the ships in which he was. There was, however, once a war between king Crown and the king of Bonny, while the ——— lay in Bonny River. The town or village of the former was burnt to ashes. To enable them to carry on the war, or at any rate to curry favour with the respective parties concerned, the Captain of the ——— supplied the king of Bonny with powder, and another vessel, lying there at the same time, supplied king Crown with the same article. Mr. ——— does not know what was the occasion of this war, nor does he recollect whether any of the vanquished were sold.

No slaves with wounds upon them—war between two kings—each supplied with ammunition by the Europeans.

Mr. ——— has heard repeatedly, that the Europeans have stolen the natives of Africa as opportunity offered, and carried them to the West Indies, but no such transaction ever fell within his own knowledge.

Natives by report carried off by the European traders.

The great men in Africa have their slaves, who attend upon them, and row in their canoes. The lands are cultivated by the women. The labour is nothing like so heavy, nor the treatment of slaves in Africa so severe, as that in the British colonies.

Country slaves--their employment not so grievous as in the colonies.

Mr. ——— says, that on the death of a king, certain funeral ceremonies take place. When the king of Bonny died, he saw one of his wives, and six or seven of his slaves beheaded. He never knew, however, any other instances of the kind.

Slaves put to death at the funeral of the king of Bonny.

The brokers, who are well versed in arithmetical calculations, and who speak the language of the country as well as of the Europeans, wait for the arrival of the slave-ships. As soon as any of these come and break trade, they go into the inland country, as before described. Having obtained as many as will load their canoes, they return with these. There are generally eight or ten in a canoe. Slaves, that are brought down, lie in the bottom of these, with their arms pinioned, and are covered with bamboo mats. Three, four, or five canoes full are brought to a ship at a time, that is, from thirty to fifty, or thereabouts. They are brought on board in the night.

Method of bringing down the slaves at Bonny.

Mr.

Mr. ——— says, that they are not always brought in the canoes of the natives to the ships, but that the ship's boats are sometimes sent for them. When the king of Bonny has not chosen to send the slaves on board, the Captain has agreed with him for a certain number, and the boat's crew have gone on shore at an appointed time, armed with pistols and cutlasses. On landing, they have found a number of black people, drawn up in regular lines. The king has pointed out to them several of these, whom they have seized, and dragged to the boat. They have taken fourteen or fifteen in this manner at a time. The men so seized did not appear to have been at all apprized of it beforehand.

Slaves examined--their value--medium of exchange;--its value.

The surgeon having examined the slaves, previous to the purchase, as to age, health, size, and the state of their limbs, and having approved of them, they are generally paid for at the following rates: A man was purchased for forty bars; a man-boy for the same; a boy for from ten to fifteen bars; and a woman for twenty. No young girls were bought but such as were grown up, and these were purchased as women. The value of a bar, the common medium of exchange, was called five shillings. A keg of powder, weighing a pound and an half, was valued at five of these, and a piece of chintz at twenty-five. This is all that Mr. ——— recollects at present on this subject.

Look dejected when brought on board--the men put into irons.

The slaves never looked otherwise than dejected, in all Mr. ———'s voyages, when they were brought on board. The men were put into irons. They were chained in pairs both by their wrists and their ankles. The fetters frequently galled their flesh. In such cases bits of canvas were given them to apply to the parts affected. They remained in chains while in harbour, but their irons were taken off from most of them in the passage, that is, from all but offenders, or such as would have made a bad use of their liberty, if loose. On their approach to land, irons were again put upon such of the men as had been set free for a part of the passage.

Made to stow by means of the cat--dreadful situation on account of heat.

In all the ships in which Mr. ——— sailed, the slaves had room to stand upright between the decks, for the height of the space between them was six feet and more, and there were no platforms. He does not know exactly what room each slave might have had to himself, but they were made to stow themselves thick together by the use of the cat. They were constantly complaining of heat, and sweated so, when confined below, that their rooms were as wet as if water had been thrown over them; nor could any person go among them without being almost immediately covered with sweat also. The time, when they suffered most, was in the rainy season: at this time the gratings were generally covered over with a tarpawling; but that as much air as possible might be given them at this juncture, the tarpawling was laid over a pole fixed about four feet above the middle of the gratings, so as to hang down like the ridge of an house. By this contrivance they were much relieved. The rains are frequent and violent on the Middle Passage.

The situation of the slaves on board the ——— was more wretched than that which has been now described. There was a sick-birth or hospital in the fore-part of the ship, in which there were once no less than one hundred and fifty of them at one time. Their wretched situation at this period cannot properly be conceived. Such as could creep upon deck were well off. Such, as were not able to clear themselves, lay in their own filth till the morning, when they were hauled up, and such as were so ill as not to be moved, (their dirt being just scrubbed up about them) lay till they became better, or till they died.



In the first ship, ———, of London, belonging to Messrs. ———, of the burthen of between 3 and 400 tons, about 370 slaves were purchased, and about 50 were lost. In the ———, of the burthen of between 6 and 700 tons, (an old man of war) 1115 slaves were bought. Of these about 360 were buried on the coast, and about 485 afterwards on the passage, so that only 270 arrived in the West Indies. In the first French ship from Bourdeaux, of the burthen of 4 or 500 tons, about 500 were purchased, and 200 of these were lost: and in the second French ship from Brest, of the burthen of 3 or 400 tons, about 400 were purchased, and 20 buried.

Tonnage of  
the different  
vessels.  
Number of  
slaves on  
board.  
Number lost.

The slaves are generally brought up about eight in the morning, and in good weather remain upon deck till five in the afternoon. During this time they are fed twice, namely, at the hours of nine and four. Their food consists of horse-beans, yams, plantains, rice, palm oil, and stock fish. To each of them is allowed a quart of water per day. This is their regimen for the Middle Passage, which is seldom less than seven, or more than ten weeks. They frequently sing, the men and women answering one another, but what is the subject of their songs Mr. ——— cannot say. They dance also at times, but were not compelled to do it in any of those ships in which Mr. ——— failed.

Time and  
nature of  
their meals.  
Sing—dance  
—but are  
not com-  
pelled.

Mr. ——— says, that he has frequently seen the slaves refuse sustenance. In all such cases they have been punished. Thumb-screws have sometimes been fixed upon them: at other times they have been fastened by the arms to the belaying pins of the rails; their bodies have been afterwards stretched out by means of tackles, and in this situation they have been flogged till they have consented to eat, after which they have again refused, when their mouths have been wrenched open by pump-bolts, and attempts made to force the food down their throats through a funnel. But almost all exertions of this kind have proved ineffectual, and they have died at last to the disappointment of their enslavers.

Refuse sus-  
tenance—  
mode of pu-  
nishment on  
that account  
—mouths  
wrenched  
open.

Others, that have sickened on the passage, have attempted to throw themselves overboard, and to destroy themselves in that way.

Attempt to  
jump over-  
board.

The slaves, on their arrival in the West Indies, are washed, oiled, and shaved; and when they are sufficiently prepared, are exposed to sale. No care whatever is taken to prevent relations from being separated. Those who take the good slaves are obliged to take some of the inferior ones also. The ———'s cargo was sold, sick and well, to the Spaniards, at the Havannah. The two French ships disposed of their cargoes also at the same place. The ——— sold at Montego Bay, Jamaica. There were about forty refuse or sickly slaves. These were put into an hospital there, where one of the owners of the vessel took charge of them. Many of them recovered.

Arrive in the  
colonies—  
are prepared  
for sale—no  
pains taken  
to prevent  
relations  
from being  
separated.

The food, given to the slaves, to support them in the West Indies, consists of salt herrings, cod of an inferior sort, and Indian corn sometimes, but the quantity given to each Mr. ——— does not know. There is one circumstance, however, which he considers as peculiarly hard. The newly purchased slaves are but sparingly fed, till they can get more sustenance by their industry. For this purpose lands are given them to clear and cultivate; but as soon as they have brought them by hard labour into a state of cultivation, their masters take them from them, and give them other spots to clear, and to bring to perfection in the same manner. This was the practice of Martha Brae, near Montego Bay, on the north side of Jamaica, during the two years in which Mr. ——— failed out of those parts.

Their food  
in the colo-  
nies—mas-  
ters assign  
them lands  
—take  
them away  
when  
cleared.

Time and  
nature of  
their work—  
a slave's  
arm ground  
off by the  
mill—their  
clothing.

With respect to their work, they begin at day-light in the morning. They are allowed an hour at breakfast, and two at dinner. These intervals excepted, they work till dark. Mr. ——— has repeatedly seen them clogged and fettered at their work. Their labour is almost incessant in crop season, so that they are quite drowsy, and very often fall asleep in situations in which they and their owners suffer in consequence of their fatigue. A slave, belonging to an estate between Martha Brae and Saint Ann's, overpowered by excessive labour in crop season, fell asleep as he was attending the mill with the canes. His arm was unfortunately drawn in by the mill, so that it was obliged to be instantly cut off to prevent him from being wholly drawn in and killed. The slaves have Sunday to themselves. A frock and trowsers of thin poor canvas is all the clothing they have.

Their pu-  
nishments—  
few to be  
seen without  
marks of the  
whip.

With respect to the punishment, inflicted upon slaves, for offences not acknowledged by the laws, it is arbitrary, and in many instances exceedingly oppressive. The whip is continually sounding in the ears of those, who walk about. When a negroe is considered to be worthy of punishment, he is held down by other negroes, and the lash is applied to his back in such a manner as to leave indelible marks behind. Soon after a negroe has been punished, the scabs are apparent over the whip cuts, and few are seen without some marks of its power.

Almost to-  
tally in the  
power of  
their owners  
—instance.

At the head of Martha Brae River lived a person of the name of Rogers. This person kept a negroe girl, as a mistress, and finding her with child he treated her with much ease and attention: but, on her delivery, the child proving to be a negroe, he had her pulled out of bed directly, and catching up a sail-needle, he thrust it through her nose, and turned her out afterwards into the field to hard labour. Mr. ——— mentions this instance only to shew, that slaves are almost entirely in the power of their owners.

Three of  
them exe-  
cuted for  
murder—se-  
verity of the  
punishment.

With respect to capital punishments, he was a witness to one. Three slaves had robbed a white man, a shopkeeper, and murdered him. They were put upon a kind of pillory at Martha Brae, with their heads and hands confined, and left there to be starved to death, centinels being posted to see that no person should bring them sustenance. They were taken down once or twice, in hopes that they would discover their accomplices; but, making no discovery whatever, they were put up again, where they remained (for many days) till they expired. One of them, before he died, had gnawn and eaten part of his own shoulder: and all of them had maggots in them, while they were alive.

An estate, in  
consequence  
of humane  
management  
wants no  
supplies  
from Africa.

Mr. ——— knew an estate in Jamaica, situated on the left side of the bay going to St. Ann's, which supported itself without any assistance from the slave trade. Most of the slaves upon it were Creoles. It belonged, he believes, to a Mr. Beckford, but is not certain. He always understood, that good and humane treatment was the circumstance that occasioned supplies from Africa to be unnecessary for that estate.

Decrease of  
them to be  
attributed to  
three causes.

Mr. ——— is of opinion, that the slave trade is unnecessary, and that the causes of the diminution of the slaves in the colonies, are, first, the ill usage of them; secondly, the want of encouragement to matrimony and population; and thirdly, the employment of them on particular services, when much of the work might be much better performed by cattle.

Method of  
procuring  
seamen for  
the slave  
trade.

Mr. ——— says, that both in London and Bristol, but particularly in the latter place, there are certain landlords, who make a practice of crimping seamen for the slave trade. They suffer them to run into debt, from a prospect



prospect of the advance money that will be given them, and then consign them to the vessels.

In all the vessels in which Mr. — failed, being large ones, there was tolerable shelter for the seamen upon deck. Awnings also were made use of. But he is sorry to observe, that the Bristol and Liverpool slave vessels had no accommodations or places of shelter for the seamen, either in sickness or in health. Two of the vessels in which Mr. — failed, were *French*.

The seamen had mostly plenty of provisions, and it was only in one voyage, and that in a time of scarcity of water, when the gun barrel was used. In both the English vessels, the seamen were obliged to take half the wages that were due to them, on their arrival at the port of delivery, in currency instead of sterling.

Mr. — is confident, that seamen are worse used in the English slave vessels, than in any other belonging to the same nation. The officers always carry a cat, which they use on the most trivial occasions. Mr. — has seen many instances of seamen being knocked down by handspikes, and otherwise cruelly used.

The crew of the — consisted of 34; and 2, a man and a boy, were lost. In the — were 67; and 3, including the captain and 2 seamen, died. The crew of the first French vessel amounted to 80, out of which 5 died; the second carried 60 men, and lost 5 also.

In the French vessels none of the seamen deserted at the port of delivery. In the —, three were discharged; and in the —, half of the crew deserted in Jamaica. Mr. — saw some of these afterwards in the West-Indies in great distress, and begging their bread. But this is a common circumstance. Guinea seamen, who have been discharged, or have deserted from their vessels, are to be seen in the most deplorable situation there; and they are to be distinguished from all others, by the ulcers in their legs, and their diseased and emaciated appearance. Mr. — believes that many of them die there.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from certain Papers made out by the \_\_\_\_\_  
Committee in his own Presence, and signed by himself  
there.

---

No. XI.

No. XI.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. \_\_\_\_\_ was in the slave trade about nine years and more to the best of his knowledge, in the years 1758, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 69, 72 and 75. He went to the coast of Africa, when a boy. He was afterwards before the mast, gunner, boatswain, and mate. He went to the Windward and Gold Coasts, the Bights of Benin, Angola, and Melimba. He was some hundreds of miles up the different rivers, and obtained a general knowledge of that extensive continent. His first voyage was in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, his second in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, his third in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, his fourth in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, to the river Gaboon; his fifth in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, to Old Calabar; and his sixth in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_. All these were from Bristol. He was only a part of the voyage in the last vessel: for he was in a West-Indiaman when she came into Barbadoes with her slaves, and went on board her as mate with the consent of his own Captain, and at the request of Captain \_\_\_\_\_, to take her to \_\_\_\_\_. His last voyage was in the \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, of Liverpool, to Annamaboe.

Productions  
of Africa.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has seen ivory, gold, tobacco, Malaguetta pepper or grains of Paradise, bird pepper, Indian corn, cotton, palm oil, bees wax, and woods of



of different kinds and colours. Some of the latter the natives use for dying. At Old Calabar was a wood called Bleeding Wood, from the moisture flowing out of it when the bark was cut by an axe, which was of a crimson colour. This wood was of a fine grain, splitted freely, and was made up into furniture.

The natives all along the coast have their manufactures. They make cloths of their cotton, which in point of texture are very good, but particularly those of Whydah. These cloths are mostly striped, and are blue and white. They are seldom more than six or eight inches broad. The different breadths are sewn together, and thus they become as broad as they please to make them. The natives make also what are called grass cloths. These are about six feet long, and three feet wide. They are skilful also in making rings of gold, and various other ornaments in brass, copper, and iron. Upon the whole they are a very tractable people, quick of understanding, and capable of learning any thing in a little time and with little instruction. In some parts of the Bight of Benin, even where no white men reside among them, they can read and write in such a manner as to be easily understood. They are also very sensible of their own interest, and Mr. — has no doubt but that they could easily be brought over to a new species of commerce, if it were once pointed out to them, and they were made sensible that it would be to their advantage to pursue it.

Ingenuity of the natives — might be brought over to a new commerce.

Mr. — has been informed by the natives, that some of the slaves, sold to the Europeans for exportation, have been sold in consequence of debts. These debts, he was informed, were not always contracted by themselves, but perhaps by their father or other relations; and these as well as themselves being unable to discharge them at the appointed time, they were sold to make good the payment of the same.

Become slaves in consequence of debt.

Others, who are sold to the Europeans, have been reduced to a state of slavery in consequence of their crimes. The chief crimes are theft and adultery. If, in the latter case, the person whose wife has been seduced is a poor man, the matter is made up, but if he be one of the great men, the offender is sure to be sold. If the offender be a native of the place, then a meeting of the king and principal people is called, and he is condemned to slavery; but, if not born in the place, then he and all his family are sold. In all cases, where the man is condemned, the woman is condemned also, that is, at Calabar, for what Mr. — has now asserted was the substance of a conversation held with Orokea Robin John, of the family of Ephraim Robin John, then king of Old Town, Old Calabar, expressly upon that subject.

Also in consequence of crimes.

Mr. — says, that many of the great men sell their wives under pretence that they have been guilty of adultery, though quite innocent, accusing them solely to get possession of such of the European articles as they most fancy or value. As a proof of this, Ephraim Robin John, the king of Old Town, sold one of his wives to Mr. —'s ship, while laying in Old Calabar River. The woman could speak good English, and he has heard repeatedly from her own mouth, that she was sold for a crime, of which she was never guilty. From the composure with which the king was accustomed to speak to her afterwards, when he came on board, Mr. — had no doubt of her innocence, for in cases of guilt the party who consider themselves to have been injured, are in general morose and angry with those whom they have so sold.

Crimes falsely imputed for the purpose.

Some of the slaves sold to the Europeans are such as have been kidnapped by their own countrymen. Mr. — once commanded a shallop in the river Nazareth, when some of the natives came down the river to catch shell-fish.

By means of kidnapping — Three of the natives

kidnapped in  
the river  
Nazareth.

He left the shallop, and accompanied a black broker in his canoe on shore. On joining the natives, who had come down on the errand before-mentioned, the broker asked him if three of them, whom he then pointed out, would suit him. Mr. — said that they would. Nothing was then done, but the next day the same three men were brought on board the shallop and sold. At the time Mr. — saw them on shore, he could distinguish no difference between these three men and the others of their party. They were all apparently free, and, as they were brought on board the next day with their arms pinioned behind them, he has no doubt but that they were way-laid or taken by force the preceding night.

Slaves frequently declare themselves to have been taken in this manner.

Mr. — is of opinion that by far the greatest number of the slaves become so in consequence of what is termed war. If the traders and others can catch any of the poorer sort straggling, or if they can come upon their countrymen by surprize, they take them and sell them for slaves. Great numbers are annually taken in this manner. The slaves have repeatedly told this to those who could understand their language, and have shewn by the motions they have made, in what manner the robbers came upon them and carried them away. This mode of taking them by surprize is called war.

Traders go armed for slaves.

On the arrival of the European vessels, the black traders go up the rivers for slaves. They frequently come first on board them, and get guns, powder, liquor, and other things for their purpose. Thus equipped they set out in their canoes, which are always armed. This is done at Calabar to the Okery cock, from Gaboon to the river Borea, and other parts of the country. The canoes, which are made use of in the Bight for these purposes, are of a great length, and made of wild cotton and other trees. Mr. — has seen what the natives called their war-canoes. They carried fifty people and more at a time, and each man had his musket, cutlass, and pike. At the bow of the canoe was a four or six pounder, and sometimes two small guns that carried about two pounds of shot. These guns were lashed down to the canoe on a level with the water, and, when they fired at any object, two or four of the sternmost men steered the canoe either way as he that took aim wanted. These guns they got from the ships. The canoes were moved forward by paddles.

These expeditions of the traders constitute what is termed war.

The reason why Mr. — supposes that what is termed war is only a piratical expedition or a robbery, is, that he has been witness to no other kind of war than the expeditions of the natives in their canoes by night, when they have been supplied with arms and ammunition from the ships, and they have returned with slaves for sale. All these expeditions were denominated by the natives *war*. He has never been witness to any other, though he has heard of open wars between different princes, but he was never in the country where they were.

No slaves with wounds upon them. Children without parents—and families in the same ship.

In all the voyages, which Mr. — has made, he never yet saw a slave, who had any wound upon him, that might be supposed to have been given him in war. The Duncoes have great scars all over their faces, and others appear to be cut in all parts of their bodies. But these are marks of their country, made purposely by themselves or their friends, and not by an enemy. He says also, that he has repeatedly seen boys and girls, of the age of twelve or thirteen, or thereabouts, in the different vessels in which he sailed, without any parents or any person belonging to them on board. There were some who have known and noticed them. He says, however, that he has seen whole families in the same ship.

Country Slaves—their employment.

The great men in Africa have their slaves, whom they occasionally sell to the Europeans, so that another class of those that are exported originate from



from thence. These, while they live with their masters, are employed in planting yams, corn, eddoe, plantains, and in other works of cultivation. They are employed also in getting palm oil, palm wine, palm nuts, and fruits. They are used also as fishermen and rowers. They perform domestick offices, and are made useful in many ways.

Their labour is by no means so excessive in Africa as in the British colonies, nor is their treatment any thing like so bad. On the contrary they are used well. Mr. ——— never saw an instance of ill treatment of one towards the other, or of masters towards their slaves. On certain festival days the king and the great men of the place give, at the feast, to each of their slaves there more or less of what they are eating themselves. They give them also palm wine and brandy. Mr. ——— has seen similar treatment of masters to their slaves in all parts of Africa, and he has been many hundred miles up the rivers, and had many opportunities of knowing the manners and customs of that continent. He has been a prodigious way up the river Boareas and Nazareth, or Bristol river, such as by Rumzempunga, Dumba, and Thimba, almost into the king of Angola's dominions, where there was not sometimes room for the oars of the boat; and as soon as he got out of the creek, he came into an open lake of many leagues both in width and breadth, but where it emptied itself he could never learn, but believes in the great river Congo, and even to this distance the natives had their slaves, and treated them well.

Their labour not so severe as in the British colonies—are particularly well used by their masters.

The masters in Africa are so far from abusing their slaves, as to have an attachment for them, and are very loth to sell them, nor would they so often as they do, unless tempted by the Europeans, and unless the latter frequently intoxicated them for the purpose, and took advantage of them in the moment when they knew not what they were doing. Mr. ——— has done it himself, not considering the baseness of such an action at the time, but only how he should do best for his employers; for few think of any thing else but getting slaves, or concern themselves at all in what manner they get them, or from whence they come. Mr. ——— has frequently asked the trading men, when they have been sober, to sell their canoe-buoys, but they never would. Having been made intoxicated, they have sold the very men whom they refused to part with but a few hours before. On their becoming sober, and finding what they had done, they have been very sorry, and have offered others in exchange, and have endeavoured to buy them off, but Mr. ——— never accepted of their proposals. Mr. Brue's trading people, and others, have also attempted in the river Nazareth, by means of spirituous liquors, to make the natives sell their palm-wine-boys, and have offered extraordinary prices, if they would sell their wives. These are common practices, which the Europeans adopt to get slaves. They pay for them on such occasions, but take care to put off to the traders, in the moment of intoxication, such inferior or damaged goods, as they would not have taken if they had been sober.

Natives intoxicated by the Europeans to make them part with their favourite slaves, and to take damaged goods in payment.

The Europeans are not less notorious for seizing and carrying off the natives, as opportunity offers, than for dealing in the manner above-mentioned, or than the natives are for seizing and kidnapping one another. The following instances came within the observation of Mr. ———. In his way down to Calabar, the ——— was lying too off Taboo, when two negroes came alongside of her to sell turtle. Captain ———, after much intreaty, prevailed upon one of them to come on board. As soon as he got into the vessel, the Captain gave him about half a pint of liquor, in which he had mixed laudanum, to drink; but finding it had no effect upon him, gave him the same quantity, mixed in the same manner as before. The negroe, soon after he had drank the last potion, fell down suddenly as if dead. The Captain

One of the natives taken off at Taboo — Stratagem made use of to take him.

Captain seeing this, ordered him to be taken below, and then made sail for Calabar. The other negroe, who had been all the time in the canoe, finding his comrade did not return to him, made immediately for the shore, on which several shot were fired at him, but he had the fortune to escape. About two days afterwards, being off Jaque Jaque, some of the natives came on board to trade. The Captain began to be fearful that the circumstance now mentioned might come to light, and therefore sent a man to keep watch over the negroe below, and to prevent him from knowing that any of his countrymen were on board. By these means he hindered a discovery for that time, and the poor man was afterwards finally taken off and sent into slavery.

Several taken off at Gaboon.

When Mr. — was once in the river Gaboon, he was informed by the natives, that Captain Matthews, of Bristol, had stolen and carried off two of the sons, and several boys belonging to the chief man of Gaboon. This he had an opportunity of knowing afterwards to be true, for he sailed with Captain Matthews the next voyage, and he was unable to get any slaves from that place. He was obliged also to keep on board most of the time while lying in the river: there was only a small island, called Connary, on which he ventured to set his foot; but up the river Boarea he dared not to go at all.

Jolly Prince of Bristol, cut off in consequence of it, and most of the crew killed.

This circumstance took place, Mr. — believes, about the year 1761, when Captain Matthews commanded the Prince of Wales. The consequence of it was, that the Jolly Prince, of Bristol, commanded by Captain Lambert, lying at Nazareth, was cut off by the natives, and the Captain and crew, consisting of twenty-five, were all killed but two men and a boy. When the natives had sufficiently revenged themselves upon the crew, they plundered the vessel, and having cut to pieces her rigging and sails, cut her adrift. Some people in the service of a Mr. Brue, an Irishman living at Annamaboe, happened to be there at the time, and towed her into Gaboon River, where Mr. — saw her hull. A person of the name of Walker, who commanded a vessel belonging to the said Brue, informed Mr. — of this transaction. He informed him also, that he was on board the Jolly Prince when she was cut off, but that the natives knowing him, and that he had had no hand in carrying off the persons before-mentioned, spared his life. One of the reasons which particularly incited them to such an attempt was, that the Jolly Prince was considered to belong to the same owners as the Prince of Wales.

Pawns taken off from Calabar.

These two instances are given as specimens of the behaviour of the Europeans towards the innocent natives of Africa. Mr. — says, however, that there are other ways in which they behave in an unjustifiable manner. In the year —, Captain Taylor, who succeeded to the command of the Venus, on the death of Captain Forbes, carried off from Old Calabar two or three pledges or pawns. These had not been redeemed. There are instances, however, where they have been redeemed, and yet detained and carried off for the debts of others. Were the Captains of Guineamen to be asked if they had been guilty of any unjust practices in the course of their voyages, very few of them could justify themselves upon that question.

Human victims by report, at the funerals of the kings of Calabar.

Mr. — was informed at Old Calabar, that when a king dies, several slaves are killed and interred with him, more or less, according to his substance and rank, and that the king's first wife, who is stiled Hobong, usually offers herself to go with her husband on these occasions.

An old man sacrificed.

He says that he was once a witness to the killing of an human victim at Old Calabar. This was an old man, whom he believes that for some time before



before they could not sell. The ceremony is as follows. After the boys of the place have spit upon him, and struck him over the face, and set him at nought, and after the forehead of the victim has been placed in a sort of large plate, made in the form of one of the gaskets with which the sails of a vessel are furled, he is fastened to a stake. When this is done, a person, called Hagboo, comes dancing round the stake with a sort of cutlass in his hand, but somewhat broader than those in use, and striking off the head, take it off with him. Then the king, with several others, take the blood, and hold it up to the heavens, and beg that Abashey, their god, will accept their offering. This was the way, in which the ceremony was performed, and it is the only instance of cruelty that Mr. — ever saw during a nine years acquaintance with the coast. He begs leave to add, that the inhabitants of Calabar are circumcised, and that they sacrifice from a man to a fowl on different occasions, as he has been informed, and without the shedding of blood in some way or other, they make up no palaver or dispute. To confirm their word, each party cut the back of their hands, and suck the blood of each other; and this is esteemed as much a tie or obligation with them, as an oath among other nations.

Mr. — believes, that if at the time of any of the funerals of the kings of Calabar, there should happen to be a slave, who has been refused by the Europeans, such a slave is made choice of to be a victim; but in no other case whatever are those destroyed that are refused. He has seen hundreds refused, but he never saw one of them destroyed, nor did he ever hear of any such thing, though he has been more along the coast, and much more in the interior parts of the country, than many have (the Gum and Grain Coasts excepted) that have used the trade to Africa all the days of their lives. Mr. — knows from experience, that those slaves who are refused by one captain, are offered to another at a lower price. Some, he believes, are sent from one part of the coast to another, for sale; others remain and work in the plantations. He has seen slaves so employed, who have been very old; their hair has been quite white. He knows of no other way of disposing of such slaves as are refused, than in those now stated.

Slaves refused by the Europeans, seldom or ever destroyed.

Mr. — believes that markets are established in the interior parts of the country, to which the traders from the coast resort, for the purpose of buying slaves. These traders go for them both by land and by water, and return in the same way. The country people, however, very frequently bring them down themselves, and this they do both by land and by water, according as they are situated near the rivers, or at a distance from them.

Slave markets in Africa--Method of bringing down the slaves.

The traders in the Bight of Benin go for their slaves. They wait for the arrival of the European vessels. As soon as they come in, they require of them their Cuma, that is, custom or duty, and having gotten it, they go into the country for slaves. Some of those who are brought down by water are ironed, others are tied, but the women, girls and boys, are at liberty. Those that are brought by land have their hands tied behind them, and he that takes charge of them fastens to their hands a long piece of rope. The traders having brought them down, sometimes land them and take them to their own houses, from whence, in a little time, they convey them to the ships. At other times they bring them directly to the ships, without ever landing them at all.

In the Bight of Benin.

Those who are brought down by water at Angola, are ironed and tied, and the women, girls and boys, have their liberty, as before. Those also who are brought by land, have their arms tied as in the former case. The person, however, who brings them down, has a large pole about six feet long, with a crutch at one end of it. The back part of the slave's neck is

At Angola.

first put into the crutch, and is confined there by means of a bolt, which passes through two holes at the end of each fork of the crutch, and goes across the throat. Confined in this manner, the driver takes the other end of the pole in his hand, and pushes the slave along, or stops him at his pleasure.

On the Gold Coast.

On the Gold Coast, several slaves are ready when a ship arrives. As soon as they are brought in, they are put into the yards of the forts, and there confined. The brokers are constantly bringing them in, as to a place of security, and the ships that arrive, are as constantly taking them off. Thirty, or more of them, are purchased and brought on board at a time, but not so many from any of the other places before-mentioned.

Slaves examined--the men put into irons.

When the slaves are brought on board by the traders, the captains and surgeons examine them. They inspect their fingers and teeth, to see if the former are crooked, or if any of the latter are gone, and buy or reject them accordingly. They examine also whether the women have fallen breasts, which is another criterion of the propriety of purchasing them. Any fault is easily seen, as they are mostly naked. All that are sickly are refused, as such might endanger the cargo. All such as are healthy, and have none of the defects before-mentioned, are purchased. The men are put into irons. They are fastened together in pairs. The right leg of one is chained to the left leg of the other, and their hands are also sometimes confined in the same manner. If they should happen to be sick, or their irons should take the skin from their ankles, they are let loose for a time. If they should happen to be sulky, they are chained ten of them together. To the shackles of each pair is in this case added a ring, through which ring a chain is passed. One end of the chain is made fast to the ring bolt of the deck, and the other is fastened to the ring of the last pair. In this manner they are messed daily, till their obstinacy ceases. The slaves are in general kept in irons during the whole of the Middle Passage.

Medium of exchange at Benin.

The medium of exchange is called in the Bight of Benin a copper, though in some parts of it it is called a fathom. Mr. — does not recollect the exact value of a copper, but believes it to have been about one shilling, but a fathom was worth about 4s. 6d. that is, it was worth so much in Mr. —'s time.

Price of a slave there.

In the Bight of Benin, a man, and a man boy, were bought (at what was called the *first* trade) for from 75 to 80 coppers. When the first trade was paid, they rose in price to 100 and 120 coppers, and so on till the ship began to be nearly slaved, when a small boy or girl, about 3 feet 10 inches high, rose to 80 coppers, and a man to 140, or more.

Value of different assortments.

A keg of powder, to the best of Mr. —'s remembrance, which might contain about 4 lb. was valued at eight coppers. A keg of trading brandy holding about 10 gallons, at 40. A whole keg, however, was never sold at a time; for a trader requires a variety of articles for one slave, and seldom more than five or six bottles are demanded on the sale of one. A brass pan was also valued at from four to eight, and a musket at 12 coppers.

Medium of exchange on the Gold Coast—its value.

The medium of exchange upon the Gold Coast is called an ounce, which is divided into ackies. An ackie was said to be worth about five shillings. Mr. — does not know what was the value of a slave upon this part of the coast, for he was out constantly in boats collecting gold for the ship, without a particular portion of which to be given in every assortment no slave would be sold.

When



When the cargo is completed, the vessels take their departure from the coast. This is usually done at night; for in coming out of the Bight, from Old and New Calabar, or from the Cameroons, the land winds are of essential service, and to this circumstance Mr. ——— attributes the failing of the vessels at that time.

Vessels leave the coast in the night—reason why

Most of the slave-vessels carry platforms, in which case none of the slaves, except such as are immediately under the gratings, can stand upright; and in some vessels they cannot even do that: for those vessels, which are too small to carry platforms, are too low between their decks to suffer any person to stand upright between them. In the ———, one of the vessels in which Mr. ——— sailed, there were no platforms, for the height between decks was but three feet eight inches: all the rest had platforms. The height between decks in one of them was but four feet 10 inches; and that in the rest might be averaged at rather more than six feet.

Height of the slaves rooms.

As the slaves cannot stand upright, so neither, if the vessel be full slaved, can they lie with ease; for they are stowed as close as they can be placed, so that they have scarcely room to do more than lie upon their sides, unless more room is made for them by the death of their companions, or by short purchase, in both which cases they may have to themselves 12 inches or more in breadth.

Breadth occupied by each slave.

It is not unusual for them to complain of heat. This they commonly do in a calm night, but more particularly when it rains, as the tarpawling is then obliged to be drawn over the gratings; and notwithstanding that it is kept from them a good height by means of a ridge rope, and hauled out by nettles to give them all the air possible, they still complain, and appear in a wretched state. These rains, which occasion them to be in so painful a situation, are both frequent and violent on the Middle Passage.

Wretched situation of the slaves on account of heat.

When the rain has ceased, and the tarpawling has been taken off, and the scuttles opened, Mr. ——— has visited them below. He has found them in such a violent sweat as to have wiped them himself, and to have occasioned them to be wiped with cloths. He has never found them however dead, but their situation was so deplorable, that he has no doubt but that others have, where less attention has been paid to them, or particularly where vessels have been full slaved.

In most ships in the slave trade the sick have an hospital or sick birth made for them, which is as convenient as can be made, considering the small room that can be allowed for it; but it is the care or neglect of them in general that determines their situation to be alleviated, or to be wretched. It is but too common for the surgeon's mates to be ignorant, and to neglect them. Of the truth of the former assertion Mr. ——— had nearly been a fatal example himself. He has seen them also cutting and slashing the slaves at the time of bleeding them, and yet not sufficiently skilful to fetch the blood from the proper place. With respect to the latter, when they gave them medicines, they have given it in such a careless manner, as if they were regardless whether they took it or not. Mr. ——— has stood and seen them take the pannikin or tin vessel, in which the medicine was, and drive the edge of it between their teeth. Most of the medicine went over their faces. They have then cursed them for being sulky, though the poor creatures have been gasping for life at the time, and have been lying in their own blood and excrements. Mr. ——— declares that the surgeon's mates have reported a slave to be dead, and caused him to be thrown overboard, when there was life in him; and he has seen himself one that moved and gasped for breath on the very surface of the water. Why this was done he does not know, nor

Are put into the sick birth, inhumanly treated—thrown overboard alive.

nor can he conceive, unless that they might get rid of the trouble of attending them.

Refuse to eat—are flogged in consequence of it.

Mr. ——— has also seen the slaves refuse to eat. This was when they were sick, and had a sick stomach. In this case they were flogged and beaten by the surgeon or surgeon's mate, sometimes with the tails of the cat, at others with the butt end of it. He has seldom seen any other than violent measures made use of on these occasions.

Number purchased and lost.

Mr. ——— cannot speak with certainty as to the number of slaves purchased and lost in the different voyages which he made, but to the best of his recollection the following strikes him as a tolerably accurate account. In the ———, about 700 were purchased, and 250 lost. In the ———, about 300 were purchased, and about 17 were buried. In the sloop ———, there were bought 25, and buried about 2. In the ———, about 180 were bought, and 25 buried. In the ———, 350 were purchased, and about 25 were lost. In the ——— they purchased about 500, and buried about 150; and in the ——— about 250, and buried five.

Time and nature of their meals.

The slaves in fine weather are usually brought upon deck at eight in the morning, and, if the weather continues fine, remain till five in the evening, when they are sent below. They are fed twice in the day, first at between eight and nine in the morning, and secondly, between three and four in the afternoon. Their meals consist of beans, pease, rice, Indian corn, and sometimes of a root called Trian, and cocoa-nuts. The two latter are procured at the islands of St. Thomas, Princes, or Annabona, if the vessels should touch there. It sometimes happens, if there be plenty of bread, that a quarter of a biscuit is given to each of them at eleven o'clock, or a little Trian, with one cocoa nut to a mess of ten. But this is but very seldom. They are supplied with water twice in the day, with about a pint at a time, and this after they are fed.

Length of the Middle Passage.

The length of the Middle Passage is, on account of calms and other circumstances, very uncertain. Mr. ——— has been six weeks from Cape Lopez to the port of delivery, and from Melimba, ten. From Old Calabar the passage was at one time made in eight weeks and a few days; and in twelve at another; and from Gaboon at one time in seven weeks; and at another in eight weeks and a few days.

Dance and sing, but not by compulsion.

The slaves frequently dance and sing during the Middle Passage. In those ships in which Mr. ——— sailed, they were never compelled either to the one or to the other, but did it freely.

Arrive in the colonies, are prepared for sale.

On their arrival in the West Indies, they are prepared for sale. This consists in shaving and oiling them, and doing such things as will make their appearance good when they come to market.

Number of refuse slaves—melancholy situation of such as are sold at vendue.

In almost all cargoes there are sickly or refuse slaves, to the number of ten, fifteen, twenty and more in each. The worst of these are sold by vendue or auction, and fall to the lot of the highest bidder. They are sold at the rate of from seven to ten dollars, and are purchased chiefly by the poorer inhabitants of the islands, who can scarcely spare the sum that is given for them, and yet do it *to have a slave*. These, finding afterwards the trouble and expence of recovering them, which they had not so much as thought of before, turn them adrift, and let them go where they please. Mr. ——— has seen them lying about the beach, after they have been bought, almost dead. He was also upon an inquest himself upon the body of



of a dead negro, where the verdict was, "died for want," and the owner denied his property.

Such is the situation of many of the unfortunate slaves, who are sold by vendue. The refuse or sickly, however, are not always disposed of in that manner, for when they are considered to be small in proportion to those that are well and in health in the same cargo, the whole of them are averaged, and the good and the bad are taken together. Whenever this is the case, the poor slaves that are sickly fare infinitely better than in the former case.

With respect to the sale by scramble, according to the idea usually annexed to the word, Mr. — was never in any ship, in which they were disposed of in that manner, though, in his last voyage to Jamaica, the slaves were disposed of nearly in a similar way. They were first put out, so many into a lot. Each slave had then a piece of hoop or tally put upon his neck, marked with lot 1st, 2d, and so on, and secondly with the number in the lot. When every thing was prepared, the planter's agents rushed into the room, and laid their hands, blindfold, upon the first they could. The number fixed on the necks of the slaves, whom they so seized, determined their respective lots. Particular mode of selling them.

With respect to any care being taken to prevent relations from being separated at the time of sale, no such merit is due either to the buyer or seller. It is the business of the Captain to sell them to the best advantage, and to make the best bargain; and of the planters to buy such only as will suit them. In either case relations may be separated, and Mr. — is positive that such a separation of connections has no part in the consideration of either party. No pains taken to prevent relations from being separated.

It is usual to brand the slaves on their arrival in the West Indies. The way of performing it, as far as it has fallen under the observation of Mr. —, was this: The gentleman, to whom the vessel was consigned, came on board. He made use of an iron pot, into which he put some rum. He set the rum on fire, and held the marking irons over the blaze, till they were red hot. He then ordered that the slaves might be made to pass him one by one. His order being obeyed, he applied the irons to each slave as he passed him, and thus branded them before they went out of the ship. Slaves branded--method of doing it.

When the slaves, that have been purchased, are taken to their respective plantations, they are very severely punished, the men for theft, running away, and giving their proprietors or superintendents short answers; the women for the like offences, as well as for not bringing home to their owners as much money as they were to pay them weekly or monthly, for this they must do, get it where, or how they can. Punished—nature of the offences for which they suffer.

Mr. — has been in all the islands, and has seen them punished for these and other faults in a most inhuman and barbarous manner. Some of them are tied up, and others are laid down on their bellies, and are flogged with a large cart whip, which brings off the skin at every stroke. When this is over, they are flogged with the tops of ebony, the prickles of which are longer than those of the black thorn of this country. Methods of punishment.

Mr. — says, that these punishments are so frequently inflicted, that the sound of the whip is constantly in the ears of those who visit the plantations, and with such severity, that it is almost impossible to see a plantation slave without many marks of violence on his body. With respect to the several other points, that relate to the treatment of slaves in the West Few to be seen without marks of the lash.

Indies, Mr. — declines speaking as he cannot speak with certainty and precision.

Method of  
procuring  
seamen for  
the Slave-  
Trade.

Most of the seamen, who have sailed with Mr. — in the slave trade, have embarked in it through necessity. They have had no other choice submitted to them than a Guinea-man or a gaol, and many of them have been actually taken out of prison, where they have been confined for debt, with a view of repaying themselves by compelling them to enter into the slave-trade.

Nature and  
quality of  
their pro-  
visions.

There are many hardships, which the seamen in the slave trade undergo. The greatest quantity of bread that was ever allowed them in the different voyages made by Mr. —, was but 5 lb. per week, and the smallest quantity was 3 lb. to each person. The beef or pork given them at the same time was from  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. to  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. per day. As for liquor, seldom or ever was any of it to be had, and if it were, it was watered and charged to them at such an exorbitant rate, that a person would soon have had no wages to receive, who indulged himself in that way. Mr. — once sailed with a Captain, who gave a quart of liquor to every mess of five people on a Saturday night, but this was only on the outward-bound passage.

Use the gun  
barrel.

With respect to water, Mr. — has been at a pint per day on the outward-bound passage; but on the Middle Passage the gun barrel was in use in all weathers, and the cask was invariably locked up, till the time for the serving of the slaves came round.

Have no  
shelter.

The seamen are obliged to lie on deck during the whole of their passage, whether it rains or shines. In the height of a thick rain they sometimes get under the awnings, but this seldom, and their bedding and clothes are oftentimes running wet.

No attention  
paid to them  
when sick.

Whether they are sick or well, they are obliged to be upon deck. They lie upon deck, and on the same deck they die. There is very little attention paid to them by the surgeon or surgeon's mate. It is a miserable thing to be sick in a slave vessel. Mr. — speaks feelingly. He has experienced it himself.

Case of the  
seamen on  
board the —

In the —, Captain —, to Old Calabar, in which vessel the seamen had nothing but salt provisions, and those of a damaged sort, many of them had ulcers upon their legs, and to such a degree that the flesh has rotted off. In this situation the poor creatures have been kicked about like dogs, or even worse, because they have not been able to get out of their officers way in time. They have frequently asked the doctor for salve to dress their wounds, and have been answered that they might die and be d——d.

Case of the  
relator.

Mr. — has been in such a situation himself, that the maggots have almost covered his wounds, and, on application, has been answered in the same manner. These wounds, or rather the marks of them, remain with him to this day. In the —, Capt. —, he was also in a very bad situation. The Captain came to him when sick, and asked him to go with one Punter in the same employ. On his refusal he was told, as before, That he might die and be d——d, notwithstanding that he had contracted his illness by being day and night in an open boat more than one hundred leagues from the ship getting slaves, and by exerting himself indefatigably for the good of his employers.



To these and other hardships which the seamen undergo, Mr. — must add, that on their arrival at the port of delivery they are paid half the wages then due to them in currency instead of sterling. Are paid in currency.

With respect to the treatment of seamen, Mr. — says, that it can never be laid out in its proper colours: he has seen them knocked down with the butt end of the cat, and kicked and beaten after they were down in a very barbarous manner, and this only for not coming at the moment when called, or for not coming aft with a swab at the very instant it was wanted. If he were to describe the barbarity used to the seamen in Old and New Calabar, and other places from Cape Formosa to Cape Lopez, he is fearful that thousands would not believe his tales, for they would be thought to contain such instances of ferocity, as it could never have entered into the hearts but of savages to perpetrate. He will content himself therefore with mentioning but one instance, as it may serve to convey an idea of those that were much worse. Extremely ill used.

Mr. Matthews, chief mate of the —, Captain —, was accustomed to use the seamen very ill, knocking them down with the butt end of the cat, and beating them about in such a manner, and on such trifling occasions, that they were quite weary of their lives. At one time in particular, when the — was lying in Old Calabar river, they came and applied to Mr. —, and told him, that if he did not speak to the Captain, and give them redress, they would leave the vessel. Mr. —, accordingly waited upon Captain —, and communicated to him what the people had desired him to say. His answer was, that he would not interfere. Upon this Mr. —, who was then boatswain of the vessel, went to the people, and communicated to them the Captain's reply, and proposed to them that a boat's crew should go round in the boat to Cross River to Captain Patterson, belonging to the Greyhound, of Bristol, and desire him to use his influence with Captain —. This proposal was agreed to by the people, and the boat was going off, when they were discovered and brought back. Mr. —, who gave the advice, was put into irons, gagged with a pump bolt, and obliged to remain in that situation for twelve hours; at the expiration of this time the bolt was taken out of his mouth, but he was made to continue in irons for several days. As for the people, they were tied up and flogged cruelly, after having been first barbarously beaten by the butt end of the cat. In all the ships, in which Mr. — sailed, the seamen were treated in a severe and savage manner. Case of the relator and others.

Mr. — cannot recollect with accuracy the number lost in each of his different voyages, but believes the following statement to be nearly right. In the — there were about 60 hands besides officers, and about 10 or 12 exclusive of the Captain, died. In the — there were 30 people in all, and five or six of them, together with the boatswain, died. The crew of the — amounted only to 12, and one or two of them were buried. In the — four or five were buried out of about 25. The complement of the — consisted of 30, and four or five of them died. When Mr. — went on board the — at Barbadoes, to act as a mate as before stated, there were 25 people on board her, four of whom died in three weeks. The Captain, however, and several of the crew, had been buried before her arrival at Barbadoes. In the — about 30 people went out from Liverpool, and two or three only died. Loss in the different voyages.

In all the ships, in which Mr. — sailed, there were always some who deserted, or were discharged on their arrival at the port of delivery. The former forfeited their wages. The latter solicited their discharge, for Leave the vessels on their arrival at the port being of delivery

being in a feeble and ulcerated state, and unable to do such of the ship's duty as they were ordered upon, they led uncomfortable lives.

Dreadful  
situation of  
such as are  
put adrift—  
Fate of many  
of them  
there.

Mr. — says that many of the seamen, who are put adrift from Guineamen in the West-Indies, either by desertion or discharge, are in the most miserable situation there. He has seen them begging in all the islands, and in the extremity of distress. In Jamaica and St. Christopher's particularly, he has seen them in great numbers lying about with their legs rotten, and with their bodies covered with ulcers in a most astonishing manner. He believes that many hundreds of them, and he thinks he might add with propriety many thousands, perish of want and disease in the different West-India islands, where the Guineamen arrive, and some of them the first-rate seamen.

Profit of the  
Slave Trade.

With respect to the profitableness of the Slave-Trade, Mr. — believes, that it was formerly attended with considerable profit. He has bought slaves in the river Gaboon for four or five pounds per head, and the cargo to the best of his recollection averaged from 30 to 35 pounds in the port of delivery; but he believes that this is not the case at present. Both the countrymen and traders of Africa have seen so much of the ways of the Europeans, that they have become as knowing as themselves. They can tell a piece of India goods from Manchester, and the value of it as well as those who bring them. They are acquainted too with the price at which slaves are sold in the West-Indies. From these and other circumstances Mr. — has much doubt about the present profitableness of the Slave-Trade.

T H E



T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from a Personal Interview with him there.

No. XII.

**M**R. —, who is a man of sound understanding, good character, and remarkable memory, has been three voyages as a foremast man to the coast of Africa, in the years 1771, 1772, 1773, and 1774. The first in the —, Captain —, the second in the —, Captain —, and the third in the —, Captain —, all belonging to Liverpool.

No. XII.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

Mr. — says, that he does not profess to be acquainted with the methods made use of to procure slaves, but should be of opinion that many are kidnapped, and many are made prisoners of war. Numbers of the latter, or those so called, he has often seen brought in much wounded; but none of them so wounded are ever purchased. They are shewn about as trophies of war. He has seen many mangled limbs hanging up on poles in the canoes of the captors.

Wars among  
the natives  
of Africa—  
the wounded  
exhibited as  
trophies by  
the victors—  
never pur-  
chased.

Mr. — believes that sacrifices are accustomed to be made at the death of any person of dignity, of which the following instance which happened, and which he himself saw while he was lying on the Windward Coast, may be a proof. A chief, whose name was Western, lost his mother by death, but not being able, for want of what were deemed to be proper articles, to bury her with all the pomp and grandeur which was necessary for a person of her rank, he had determined to keep her till he had it in his power to inter her with the usual ceremony. At some distance of time from her decease, an American vessel arrived, out of which ship he purchased 15 puncheons of rum, for which

Slaves killed  
at the fune-  
ral of a per-  
son of dis-  
tinction on  
the Wind-  
ward Coast -  
victims not  
to be  
bought off  
on these oc-  
casions.

he gave fifteen prime slaves. On the receipt of this rum, he instantly prepared for the funeral. The ceremony began by a vast number of people attending the deceased to the grave, headed by a man with a club made of *lignum vitæ* in his hand. As soon as the body was deposited, fifteen old women, whom Mr. — took to be servants or slaves of the deceased, came forward with joy in their countenance, and suffered themselves to be knocked down and killed by the man who carried the club. They were all afterwards buried in the same grave. He is of opinion that it would not be in the power of any *European* to purchase those slaves who are doomed to be sacrificed on these occasions.

Dreadful situation of the slaves while on board, on account of heat--number purchased and lost.

He says that the slaves, when they are kept long below, look very ill, and complain of heat: that the rains are very frequent and heavy on the Middle Passage; that on these occasions the tarpawling is raised to give them as much air as possible, but that notwithstanding this, after the rain has been over, and the hatches opened, he has seen a dead man brought upon deck, who has been chained to a living one. He likewise says, that there is a place allowed for the sick, but their situation there is truly miserable. The loss of slaves sustained in the different voyages, made by Mr. —, was as follows, namely,

In the — they purchased	-	-	370	and lost	5
In the —	-	-	201		100
In the Africa	-	-	250		11

Method of procuring seamen for the slave trade.

Mr. — says, that the seamen in the Guinea trade are in general procured by landlords, who get them into their houses, and endeavour to keep them intoxicated till they run themselves so much into debt, that it is out of their power to pay it; so that they must either go to gaol, or on board a Guineaman. If any seamen, who have been cast away, come in distress to Liverpool, they are particularly marked by the landlords, who offer them clothes and refreshment, and every thing they want, but take care to secure them for their employers.

Nature and quantity of their provisions--Allowance of water--have no shelter--are paid in currency.

Mr. — says, that the allowance of provisions for the seamen, on board of the ships he sailed in, was as follows, namely, 5 pound of bread per week, not half a pound of Drogheda beef per day, and three half pints of water, served out to them in a pannikin, for the twenty-four hours.—He further says, that the sailors, while on the Middle Passage, have no kind of shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and that those who survive, and arrive in the West-Indies, are always obliged to receive half their wages in the currency of the island, where the slaves are sold.

Ill used on board the—Expression of Captain —.

Mr. — farther says, that the seamen in general are treated very ill in the slave trade, and that when he was in the —, Captain —, who commanded her, was guilty of many cruelties to the ship's company; and his constant expression when he was beating the men, was, "You villains, I will go as far as the gallows will let me in punishing you."

Abused when sick—another expression of the same.

That when any of the people were taken ill, he always obliged them to go upon the wooden awning, which was situated before the break of the quarter deck, and abaft the bulk head of the main deck, to pick oakum, though there was no necessity for it. It was in vain to remonstrate, for whoever did, were instantly punished.—Exposed in this manner to the inclemency of the weather, and extremely ill at the same time, they were refused the aid of medicine, the surgeon being ordered not to give them any. The Captain used to say, "You cannot go in the boat—you can do nothing"



" nothing—you shall pick oakum, for I will have no man idle in my ship."  
Two of the people who were sick, died in this employment.

Mr. ——— begs leave to add, that if the mates did not beat the people whenever the Captain employed himself in that way, by which three or four were upon one man at a time, he used to beat them also.—He broke the boatswain's right arm with the butt end of a musket, and the cook's right arm with a large broomstick. He farther says, that Captain ——— put on shore on the Coast of Africa, at Great Cape Mount, where there were no inhabitants, two seamen, one of them a man belonging to Poole, whose name he forgets, and the other an Irish lad, both of whom he verily believes died of want, because they were very ill at the time, and had no means of subsistence.

Case of the  
boatswain,  
cook, and  
two others.

Captain ———, also in the course of the voyage, put two of his men, who had ulcerated legs, to the task of picking oakum, and on their arrival at Charles-Town bar, he discharged them as incapable of doing their duty, on account of the ulcers on their legs. Whenever the people of the ——— went on shore to water, these poor people used to crawl down to the boat with tears in their eyes, intreating to be taken on board, but to no effect, for though their former shipmates were accustomed always to give them something to relieve them, yet they dared not venture to bring them back to the ship. They were so emaciated, that they appeared to be nothing but skin and bones, and in this condition they were left behind.

Case of two  
others left  
behind at —

The same kind of treatment was practised also in the ———. Captain ——— did not hesitate to beat the people with rope's ends, handspikes, or the stock of a gun. He beat one of them so barbarously with the latter instrument, that the poor man became sick, and died in the course of a fortnight.

Similar  
treatment on  
board the  
——.

Mr. ——— says, that he has great reason to believe, that the Guinea trade is a grave for seamen, if he may be allowed to judge from the loss sustained in the three voyages which he made.

Loss of them  
in the differ-  
ent voyages.

The first voyage in the ———, Captain ———, they took out thirty-five seamen, and lost about thirty by death. In the second, which was in the ———, Captain ———, they buried about twenty-five of the crew, which was nearly the whole of the ship's company. And in the third, in the ———, Captain ———, two men only died out of twenty-five. He says that Captain ——— was a very humane man.

Mr. ——— is farther of opinion, that many seamen die in the West-Indies in consequence of being left there by the Guineamen, in a sickly state. He has seen in Barbadoes and the Grenades, sailors discharged from slave vessels, begging in the streets, in an ulcerated state, and says, that he has sometimes relieved them himself.

Situation of  
such as are  
turned adrift  
in the West-  
Indies.

In Barbadoes he has seen them lying, both dying and dead, under the houses, which houses were built upon piles, on account of ants, sandflies, and vermin—In Grenada they lie about people's houses, and at their doors, but nobody will take them in. He says that he and some of his shipmates, joined in purchasing a coffin for a Guinea seaman, of the name of John Grey, who was formerly a shipmate of theirs, and who was found lying dead under one Mason's, a sail maker's house, which was situated in St. George's Bay. The information of his lying there came to them from some negroes. The seamen, who joined in purchasing his coffin, attended his burial, and they interred him at the mouth of the river.

Fate of many  
of them  
there.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from several Conversations with him at ———,  
and from his own Papers.

No. XIII.

No. XIII.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. ——— was second mate of the ——— West-Indiaman, Captain ———, in which he sailed from Kirkudbright in Scotland, to Grenada, in the year 1777. He became afterwards a master in the royal navy. In the two situations now mentioned he became acquainted with the following facts.

Dreadful  
mortality  
and situation  
of slaves on  
board the  
Nelly-Hogs  
suffered to  
tear their  
carcasses  
while living.

While the ——— was lying in the carenage, Grenada, the Nelly, Lancaster Guineaman, came in. She was put into the same tier with the ———, and was lashed to her, so that both their sides were together. Thus situated, Mr. ——— had an opportunity of seeing many of the occurrences that passed on board her. He says that the slaves, whom she brought in, were in a very sickly state. He has seen in a morning, four or five slaves lying, either dead or dying, on the gratings; and this he saw, he believes, every day, till the whole cargo was disposed of. It was usual, when they were apparently dead, to remove them from the hold, and to lay them on the gratings, as before mentioned. In this situation, the hogs that were on board the Nelly were suffered to tear their carcasses. Mr. ——— has seen them devouring their legs and sinews; and all this before they were quite dead, for he has seen the slaves draw up their legs, and move their arms, while the said hogs were tearing them. He says that this circumstance,



stance, together with some others that happened on board the Nelly, made such an impression upon him, that could he have been previously made acquainted with them, he would have sooner fled to the woods, and trusted to a precarious subsistence, than have staid on board his own ship.

While the ——— was lying in the carenage, Mr. ——— had often occasion to go to the different estates that lay round about it, in order to bring off sugar or other articles. At these times he has seen the negroes at work. He has seen the black drivers whipping them in the most unmerciful manner, if, either through disease or age, they did not keep pace with the rest; or if they seemed in the least negligent in their labour: their treatment in this respect appeared to him to be very severe and unmerciful.

Slaves in the colonies—punished-nature of their offences.

When the same gentleman was sent to wood for the vessel, he saw several distressed objects, in the persons of slaves, on several of the estates between Grenada and Point Saline, and this frequently. They were so emaciated, as to appear to be nothing more than skin and bone. Mr. ——— has often relieved them, by bringing them beef, biscuit, and other articles from the vessel. He never failed to inquire of them, how they came in so distressed a situation. Their universal reply was, "that they were half starved; " that they had fallen sick, and that in consequence of their sickness, and of " course, their inability to work, their masters would give them no victuals." Some of these he has found dying, others he has found dead. The latter appeared, as they lay in their huts, to be mere skeletons, and to have died of hunger. In such cases he has told the other negroes, whom he has met with, to go and bury their countrymen, for that they lay dead in such and such huts.

Turned off without subsistence, when incapable of labour.

Mr. ——— is of opinion, that seamen in general do not voluntarily embark in the slave trade, but that they are forced into such employ by certain landlords, who make a point of getting them into debt, in order that they may have them in their power, and then oblige them for their own (the landlord's) advantage, to embark in this trade. In the year 1783, he received orders, as a master of a man of war, to go to Liverpool, and to take charge of his Majesty's ship ———, in order to conduct her from that place to one of the royal ports. In his way he touched at Scilly, where he shipped Edward Long, and three other seamen, to assist him in fulfilling his charge. These he verily believes to have been as fine fellows, and as complete seamen, as any that ever existed in that line. On their arrival at Liverpool, they had leave to go on shore, but the landlords of Liverpool soon marked them, enticed them into debt, forced them into gaol in Water-Street; and lastly, on board the Princess Royal Guineaman. While they were on board this vessel, and were lying at the Black Rock, they wrote to Mr. ———, intreating him in the strongest terms to send for them, and to liberate them from their destined voyage. Mr. ——— immediately sent them the money that was then due to them on the king's account, but as the landlord's, or landlady's bill amounted to more than the wages sent them, they were obliged, with heavy hearts, to submit to the voyage, and to leave perhaps their connections for ever, whom they had probably promised to leave but for a few days.

Method of procuring seamen for the slave trade.

The seamen are used ill in many respects in the slave trade. Those who came in the Nelly Guineaman, into the carenage, Grenada, suffered much in consequence of a short allowance of provisions. Mr. ——— has

Nature and quantity of their provisions.

—— has seen the cooper at work from the morning, till four o'clock in the afternoon, without any thing to eat; and the poor seamen have often came on board the ——, to beg a mouthful of victuals.

Extremely ill  
used—case  
of the boat-  
swain and  
carpenter of  
the ——.

The Captain of the —— behaved in a very cruel manner to his people, while she lay in the carenage. He was accustomed to beat them on every trifling occasion, in a very barbarous manner; sometimes with a rope's end, at others with a handspike, in short, with any thing he could catch hold of; nor did he suffer even the surgeon to escape his blows. His usual way however of punishing them, was by striking them with an artificial wooden hand. His left hand had been cut off, and replaced by a wooden stump, with which he usually struck and bruised them over the head or any other part of the body. Mr. —— has not only seen him often employing himself in this manner, but has heard in the night violent shrieks and cries, as well from the seamen as from the slaves. The boatswain of the vessel once took the liberty of complaining that he had nothing to eat, upon which the Captain, when he went on shore, contrived, by means of some fictitious tale, to get him put into the castle, in which place of confinement he remained till the fleet sailed. When the carpenter was ill, he had no attention paid to him, nor any thing allowed him that would alleviate his complaint. The surgeon told the Captain, that if he would buy him a few drugs, he verily believed he could save his life; but the Captain positively refused, and the man died. His whole behaviour, in short, was so brutal, that Captain ——, of the ——, would not speak to him at last, or have any connection with him.

Loss of them  
on their arrival  
at Grenada.

Mr. —— is of opinion that the slave trade, if he is allowed to judge by the Nelly Guineaman, before-mentioned, is the grave of our marine. When the Nelly anchored in the carenage, Grenada, there were only seven white people on board her, namely, the surgeon, captain, boatswain, cooper, carpenter, cook, and a lad of the name of Johnson, who came from Dumfries in Scotland. To make the loss which this vessel must have sustained still greater, the carpenter died in the carenage.

Dreadful  
situation of  
such as are  
set adrift in  
the West-Indies—fate of  
many of  
them there.

He is of opinion, that several seamen desert, or are discharged from Guineamen, on their arrival in, or before they leave, the West-Indies, and that several of these are additionally lost there. Of those that have been mentioned, as having come in with the Nelly, he believes, to the best of his recollection, that only the surgeon, and Johnson, the lad, went home in her. With respect to the latter assertion, he has seen Guinea sailors begging in Grenada, in a very emaciated and ulcerated state; in such a state, that he has set them down in his own mind, as likely to be dead in a short time. On a certain day one of them came to the store-house belonging to his ship, the ——, He took shelter under the shed of the crane, and died there. Mr. —— assisted in burying him, and he also assisted in burying three other Guinea sailors, so dying, while he lay in the carenage, Grenada.

Fatal effects  
of the trade  
upon such as  
return home.

But the loss of seamen, in consequence of the slave trade, does not, in Mr. ——'s opinion, stop here; for its effects are sometimes felt afterwards by those that get home, and become the occasion of their deaths. One of the seamen of the —— died soon after he had gotten home. He had been complaining all the voyage. He said that he should certainly die soon, and that his death was to be attributed to a former voyage, in which he was cruelly treated in the slave-trade.

Mr.



Mr. — is of opinion, that but few seamen are lost in the West-India trade. The — carried out twenty-four hands, and though the voyage was of about twelve months, she took them all back again; one however, as has been before related, died when he got home; but he attributed his own death, of which he was previously sensible, to his having been employed in the slave trade.

Mr. — has regularly served his time, and been brought up in the merchant's service. He has been, during the course of his life, in various trades, and in different vessels, but he never saw a sailor stinted for provisions, or put to allowance, but in the Nelly Guineaman, as described above.

THE

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from certain Papers, made out by the ———  
Committee, from an Interview with him there.

---

No. XIV.

No. XIV. Situation and qualification of the relator to give evidence. **M**R. ——— was formerly in the merchants service in the West-Indies. He has been at Grenada in particular, in which island he has been much on shore, and has travelled through the country. He was also in most of the other English islands, during the years 1774 and 1775. The description which he intends to give, is taken from Grenada, but is applicable to the other parts which he has visited.

Method of selling slaves in the colonies. No pains taken to prevent relations from being separated. —refuse or sickly purchased on speculation. Duration and method of their work. **M**r. ——— says, that slaves are sold in the West Indies in the same manner as cattle are sold at our own markets; nor are any more pains taken to prevent relations from being separated, than there is to prevent a separation of a cow and calf, when there is a distinct purchaser for each.

In Guinea-men's cargoes there are always some slaves that are sickly. These are in general bought upon speculation. The surgeon of a packet, to which he belonged, bought some of them at Barbadoes, who were in a very weak and disordered state. Having recovered them a little, he sold them afterwards at Jamaica.

The slaves are called to their work at day-light, and continue at it (certain intervals excepted) till dark. In crop-season their labour is excessively hard, and their rest short.

**M**r. ——— has frequently seen them working with iron collars on their necks. These collars might weigh from eight to ten pounds. Notwithstanding



standing this incumbrance and impediment to their labour, they were obliged to work as hard as those that have none. Those slaves, upon whom the collars were so fastened, were said to have run away. <sup>Their cloathing.</sup>

With respect to cloathing, the men have seldom any thing else but a bad pair of trowsers. The women have a short Osnaburg jacket and petticoat, which comes a little below their knees. Mr. — has frequently seen both men and women without any cloathing at all. Indeed this is quite common in the interior parts of the islands. Those women, who have children, take the cloaths, that are allowed, to fasten them to their backs, in which situation, naked on the one hand, and loaded on the other, they are found working in the field.—All their children go naked till the age of ten or twelve.

The ordinary punishments inflicted upon the slaves are in general too severe. Mr. — has seen them flogged with a large cart-whip, till the flesh has been taken out, and this for the slightest offences. There is a person called a jumper, whose office it is to punish such as are thought deserving of correction, and he lives by the employment. <sup>Methods of punishment.</sup>

In different islands they are flogged in a different manner. In some they are laid on their bellies, and when properly stretched out, they receive the lash. In Jamaica they are hung up to a crane by their wrists. A great weight, to the amount of from 40 to 50 lb. is hung at each of their feet, to prevent them from springing up, and to keep their bodies tight. In this situation they are flogged, sometimes with a whip, and at others with a bunch of ebony, which latter is a very severe punishment. Their backs are then pickled with brine.

These punishments are so common, and inflicted with such severity, that almost every slave whom Mr. — saw, was more or less chequered with the marks of the whip, the sound of which is continually in the ears of all, who visit the plantations. <sup>Few without marks of the whip.</sup>

Mr. — has seen several slaves turned off by their owners on account of old age. They had an hut allowed them to live in, but nothing more. They were obliged to support themselves as well as they could. He has reason to believe that many of them die of want. He has seen also slaves, who have been very ill, lying about without any notice or care taken of them. <sup>Turned off without subsistence when past their labour.</sup>

Mr. — has seen sailors, deserting or discharged from Guinea-men, in the different West India islands, lying about without any person to assist them, in the greatest distress. They are to be particularly distinguished from other seamen by the ulcers in their legs, and their emaciated and diseased appearance. He has seen them so bad, as in his opinion to be dying, and in the carenage in the harbour of St. George's, Grenada, he has found them dead. They were lying in empty sugar casks on the quays, to which they had probably retired to die. Mr. — believes that many of them perish annually in the different West India islands. <sup>Dreadful situation of seamen put adrift from Guineamen in the West Indies—fate of many of them there.</sup>

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from his own Papers.

---

No. XV.

No. XV.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. ——— was six years in the West India trade. He was in the West Indies also in a ship of war. He was there as late as in the year 1784. What he has to say on the subject of the slave-trade is applicable to Jamaica and Tobago.

Woman slave  
goes mad.

**M**r. ——— on the 14th of January, 1784, went with his brother, who resided in Kingston, Jamaica, to a sale of slaves. His brother purchased a female of the age of twenty. In a few hours afterwards, it was discovered that she was insane. Upon this, they both went to the mate of the vessel, in which she came, to inquire how long she had been in such a situation. His reply was, that she was perfectly well when she was brought on board, but that in the Middle Passage she became mad, and that he knew not from whence it proceeded, but from distress of mind, and the consideration that she had been forced from her connections, without the prospect of ever seeing them again.

Slaves in  
the colonies  
branded.

The field slaves, but particularly in Jamaica, are mostly branded. This brand contains the mark of the estate they belong to.

Not taken  
care of when  
sick.

The negroes, when sick, are but little attended to. On such occasions they are mostly lodged in huts, at a small distance from the negro town. **M**r. ——— has seen in one of these huts a sick negro, to all appearance dying, without any kind of attendance, or even appearance of nourishment, or provisions, in the hut. He has been able to get nothing to drink, but brackish



kish water. Every person, who has travelled in Jamaica, must have seen daily instances of the kind now mentioned.

Mr. ———, in the month of March, 1774, was present at an execution of Eight sentenced to be executed for murder. slaves at Queen's Bay, Tobago. Some negroes (but what was their provocation he does not know) killed two or three white people on Betsey's Hope estate, destroyed some cane patches and other property by fire, and then fled to the woods. Nine of them being afterwards taken, were brought to trial. The tenth became king's evidence. Mr. ——— saw them tried, condemned, eight of them executed in the course of a few hours.

The sentence was that seven of the delinquents should have their right arms chopped off, and then be burnt alive, but one of them to be burnt by a slow fire. They were accordingly led to the block. Chub, one of them, who had been taken in the woods that morning, and to whose body the fire was to be slowly applied, was a man of great dignity of countenance and undaunted resolution. He looked at Mr. ——— as they were leading to the block with great firmness, and exclaimed in a noble manner "Buckra" (or white man) "you look at me, you see me now, but to-morrow you will see me this," kicking up the dust with his foot at the same time, and meaning thereby that he should be turned to dust. On coming to the block, he pulled up the sleeve of his shirt, and laid his arm upon it with as much coolness as if he had been going only to be bled. Severity of the punishment.

When the operation was over, they were dragged to seven stakes to which they were made fast by a chain. The fire consisted of trash (i. e.) dried cane, after it has gone through the mill, and wood. Mr. ——— was a very near spectator of this horrid scene, and only drew back to avoid the flames. The unhappy sufferers talked much, but chiefly in their own language. It was horrid to hear their bodies broiling amidst the fire. He saw them but seldom on account of the smoke. The next morning he visited the place, but there were no remains visible of any human being.

The eighth, whose name was Sampson, was sentenced first, to be present at the execution of his countrymen as now related, and then to be hung alive in chains, and there to remain till he expired. On the next morning his sentence was put in force. Mr. ——— visited him daily at the gibbet for seven days. He put to him several questions while hanging, which the other only replied to by shaking his head. He lingered till the seventh night, and then died. The ninth was sentenced to be sent to the mines of South America, and to be sold there.

With respect to the ordinary punishments inflicted upon the slaves, and Method of their usual treatment, Mr. ——— mentions the following particulars. The wharfs of Kingston are crowded every Monday morning with poor slaves, who are brought there to be whipped for the offences of the preceding week. They are generally tied up by the thumbs or hands, and, stretched out in that manner, they receive their punishment. The punishment in common cases.

Mr. ——— has often seen the negroes at work with logs of wood made fast to them, and with iron hooks about their necks, but what their offences were that merited such punishment he cannot say. He asserts also, that the slaves in the West India islands (that is) Jamaica and Tobago, are very cruelly used. He has seen them with scars on their backs, occasioned by whipping, that no time could erase. He has seen them with their ears cut off, and their persons otherwise mutilated, but particularly in the vicinity of Kingston; and in both islands, the sound of the whip is continually in the ears of those who live there. Method of work. Many with marks of violence on their persons.

This

Run away  
from their  
masters.

This cruel and oppressive treatment is attended with bad consequences. For the slaves, unable to bear their lives, fly to the mountains, leaving their tyrants to cultivate their lands themselves. Mr. — has seen many of this description brought back by the mountain negroes.

Decrease of  
them to be  
attributed  
to bad usage.

He is of opinion also, that to the savage method of treating slaves in the islands is to be attributed the reason why they diminish in general so rapidly, and why a fresh recruit from the coast of Africa is at all wanting. In the island of Tobago he has seen women, with infants tied to their backs, working in the fields, without any kind of distinguishing lenity. Many of these and other instances of a cruel nature have come under his knowledge.

Instance of  
good treat-  
ment—are  
laborious  
and orderly.

Mr. — says, that he knew an exception to the treatment just stated. In Little Courland estate, Tobago, Stewart M'Vey, Esq. was one of the proprietors of the said estate. This gentleman acted the part of a parent to his slaves. He encouraged matrimony among them, and seemed to treat them on all occasions, in a humane and careful manner. They, on the other hand, were laborious and orderly, and spoke in praise of their master.

Have a nu-  
merous pro-  
geny.

Mr. — says, that as this estate was in a state of improvement, it required supplies. Such supplies came from Antigua from certain plantations, belonging to the same concern. But he has no doubt from the uncommon number of children in the negro town, that the estate soon came into a condition to render any future supply unnecessary.

Dreadful si-  
tuation of  
such seamen  
as are put  
adrift from  
Guinea-men  
in the West  
Indies—fate  
of many of  
them there.

Mr. — has frequently seen in the island of Jamaica the sailors of Guinea-men in great distress, from their having been imprudently discharged, or obliged to desert, in so bad a state of health that no other vessel would take them in. He has seen them lying about the wharfs at Kingston in a dying state. They are generally distinguished by the name of wharfingers. They appear to be ulcerated all over, but particularly in their legs, and their ulcers are often covered with musquitoes. In this dreadful situation they are left to perish, for no merchantman will take them in, because they are too debilitated to do any thing, and no king's ships will receive them for fear of infection. Mr. —, when he has been attending a negro holiday at Spring Path, which is the cemetery of the negroes, has often seen the bodies of these wharfingers brought there, and interred in an adjoining spot.

Mortality of  
seamen in  
the West In-  
dia trade.

Mr. — says, from an experience of six years, and mostly in large ships, that the West India trade is not destructive to seamen. During this space of time but two people were lost in all those ships in which he sailed; the one a sailor, who tumbled overboard, and was drowned; the other a landsman, who became sick, and died.



# THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EVIDENCE

OF

Taken from his own Letters.

## No. XVI.

**C**aptain — was in the West Indies in the year 1772, as a midshipman, and in 1777 as a master of a man of war. He was there altogether about twenty months, and touched at most of the Windward Islands. The opinion, which he formed on the subject of slavery, is made up, not from one or two specifick instances, but from general observation, and he had many opportunities of judging, both from having resided upon an estate, and from having been, in the course of duty as a master, frequently on shore. His observations, however, may be considered as the observations of about twelve months.

No. XVI.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

Captain — says that it is too shocking for an Englishman on his first going to the West Indies to pass a plantation where negroes are at work, and hear the violent strokes from the whip inflicted upon them, for perhaps only looking at a stranger passing by, and not going on with their work at the same time. This he has seen many a time in the different islands.

Slaves in the  
colonies pu-  
nished on  
very trifling  
occasions.

He has seen them punished also for other trifling faults in such a manner, that his heart has ached for their sufferings, and the punishment inflicted upon them by the manager with such unconcern, as not to have interrupted his jocularity.

A a

When

When Captain ——— has interfered in the business, he has been asked “Do you not punish on board of ship?” “Certainly,” he has replied, “but not in that cruel way.”

Method of  
punishment  
for offences.

The mode of punishment for what have been considered to be regular offences has been as follows: The poor negro has been obliged to lie on the ground with his belly and face towards it, stretched out for the purpose of greater pain, and ordered not to stir at his peril till the operation was fully over. The instrument of punishment has been a whip, much longer than that of a coachman, and the thong of which was in the thickest part of it about the size of a man's thumb, and from thence tapered gradually down. Stretched out in this manner, the instrument described has been applied to his back, and (by the direction of the manager, and even sometimes his wife) with such a particular jerk, that a piece of flesh has been taken out at every stroke. This Captain ——— has repeatedly seen, and the only crime for which the unhappy negro has suffered has been that of not getting what the manager deemed a sufficient bundle of grass for himself. This is a common crime, and this a common method of punishment for it in the West Indies, but particularly in Antigua; for Captain ——— having met with an old school-fellow there, who managed an estate, was introduced by him upon other plantations in the year 1777, and had therefore a very great opportunity of seeing the discipline of that island.

Few without  
marks of the  
lash — slaves  
crippled in  
consequence  
of it for a  
time.

The punishments, inflicted on such occasions are shamefully severe, and attended with bad consequences. Captain ——— has repeatedly met negroes on the road, whose backs have been too much mangled to describe, and he declares it to have been no uncommon thing, in the year alluded to, for a negro to have been so much crippled by whipping, as to have been obliged to lie by an whole week after punishment.

Are punished  
without any  
consideration  
— instance

It is so customary to flog negroes, and so much an habit, that the whip is applied without any consideration, of which the following instance, which came under the knowledge of Captain ———, may be considered as a proof. A slave in Antigua paid his master a certain price for permission to work for his own advantage. He accordingly undertook a job for a new master. The new master however, though but a temporary one, and though he had no property in the slave, took the liberty of punishing him, on some occasion or other, in a very exemplary manner.

Picking grass  
— time and  
labour of the  
employment  
— a frequent  
cause of pu-  
nishment.

Captain ——— says that he always considered the picking of grass as one of the greatest hardships upon the negroes in the West Indies. Having resided for three weeks together upon an estate on the island of Antigua, he saw sufficient instances to occasion him to make up his mind upon that question.

The negroes generally leave their work about sun-set, though this depends upon the distance their work may be from their homes. It is most commonly after this time, that is, as they are walking to their huts after the labour of the day, that they pick grass. They collect it from the sides of the road, and almost blade by blade. It is a most difficult and burthensome task; and is more productive of unmerited punishment than perhaps any other circumstance or omission: for Captain ——— has seen them very unmercifully punished for not having brought in a given quantity of grass, when, in his opinion, it was totally out of their power to have collected it. Captain ——— apprehends that the picking of grass is rather an advantage to the manager, than to the proprietor of the plantation, because the former generally keeps stock of his own.



The last act of humanity or kindness (as it is termed) shewn to a negro after he has been worn out by hard work, severe punishment, and sickness, arising from unwholesome food, and other causes, is to give him freedom, too often when he can scarcely crawl or speak. Too many well known instances happen of this kind in all the islands; a custom, which cannot be too severely reprobated. It is unusual in England for a man to turn even a worn out horse adrift to seek its living.

Turned off when incapable of labour, under a shew of freedom.

Captain ——— says that he has had some dealings with negroes, and that he never found them so egregiously stupid, as has usually been described. He has rather found them, on the other hand, keen, sensible people, and endued with as much feeling as ourselves, and is free to acknowledge, that if they were treated properly, and not driven to those extremities which are said to be the result of their vicious dispositions, they would be as tractable as white people, and their proprietors would reap the advantage of the change: of which the example in the next paragraph may be called a proof.

Ingenious—tractable, if treated well.

Captain ——— once visited a gentleman in the island of Grenada, who lived about six miles from the carenage, and had the pleasure of observing such a difference in the treatment of the negroes there, as surprized him much. After dinner, he and the company were enjoying the bottle, when their attention was roused by a pleasing melancholy singing. They broke up from the table, and found the negroes just returned from their labour, singing (as was then said to be their usual custom) hymns at the door, which were sung with such decency and decorum, and were so expressive of love and gratitude to the manager, that Captain ——— could not help exclaiming against the barbarity and impolicy of the Antigua discipline.

Well treated in a certain plantation in Grenada—order and decorum among them.

In the course of conversation the manager informed him, that this was the constant mode of treating negroes in that district, which was called the French quarter, and that no cruelties were exercised there. He acknowledged, however, that he had now and then occasion to punish, but did not find it necessary to do it often, and never with that cruelty so universal in other islands: to which he added, that he had the satisfaction of finding his negroes do much better, than those who were treated in another way.

Other advantages of their good treatment—treatment originated with the French.

Soon afterwards Captain ——— went with the manager to visit the huts, which the manager told him it was his constant custom to do. He there asked the negroes in their different huts (as usual) if they were satisfied, or wanted any thing. The number of them might be three hundred; and out of these there was not one that was dissatisfied, nor had the driver any complaint to make. This plan of treatment the manager said he had found when he came to the estate. It originated with the French; most of the negroes spoke French, and one very well informed among them kept a school for young negroes.

Though the treatment now mentioned was practised invariably upon that district, and was attended with similar effects, yet in other parts of Grenada the same mercilefs plan was adopted, as has been described in Antigua and other islands; and Captain ——— says that the latter is so common that he only wonders how any man can presume to affirm, that the treatment of slaves in the West Indies is even tolerable, much more that they are happier and better off than the English peasantry.

Captain ——— has frequently heard that the Captains of Guineamen have left their people behind in the West Indies, because they were in a sickly

Seamen put adrift from slave vessels in the West state, Indies.

state, and unable to navigate their vessels home. He has seen some of this description in the island of Antigua.

Situation  
and fate of  
many of  
them there.

He is of opinion also that the slave trade is the grave of our marine. He was much in want of men, while in the West Indies, and went to Guinea-men often for a supply, but their people were so sickly, that he dare not take them on board, for fear of infecting his crew, though he believed them in general to be excellent seamen; and during the course of his vessel's stay there, he was never able to find more than two whom he could admit on board, so debilitated were the rest of them, and in so infectious a state. He is firmly of opinion, that many of these seamen die after they are discharged, and that very few ever so compleatly get the better of the disorders contracted in the slave trade, as to be fit for his Majesty's service on any future occasion.

THE



T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from several Conversations with him, both at  
—— and in London.

---

No. XVII.

CAPTAIN —— commanded his Majesty's ship the ——, and in consequence of his orders, went to the Coast of Africa, where he was in the months of November and December, 1781, and in the months of January, February, March and April, 1782.

Captain —— is of opinion, that most of those who are reduced to a state of servitude, on those parts of the coast of Africa which he has visited, are so reduced by means of treachery and surprize. His ship, the ——, lay for a considerable time between the island of Goree, and the main land of the continent of Africa. She was of course often visited by the port Captain, whose office it is to collect duties for his master, the king of Damel, opposite to whose territories on the main land the vessel lay. If a ship's boat should land any person or persons upon his territories, for amusement or for pleasure, no duty is required; but if it should land them for the purpose of wooding and watering, or of purchasing slaves or cattle, or any other article, then it is expected that a bottle of brandy should be paid every time when the boat so lands. The black man, who was port captain to the king of Damel at that time, and collected his duties, was named Garner. He was brother to the Maraboo of Dacard, and, as has been stated, often visited the ship.

No. XVII.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give evi-  
dence.

Natives on  
the conti-  
nent about  
Goree—in  
the kingdom  
of Damel—  
king's port  
officer—his  
employment.

Great bulk  
of them pro-  
cured by the  
king's mili-  
tary, by sur-  
prize.

It was this man, of whom Captain ——— first inquired how slaves were obtained in those parts. His reply was, "You will soon see," bidding him watch the villagers of Dacard a little before dusk, and saying, "that he would see them go out in parties for the purpose of catching slaves." Captain ———, on receiving this information, used to watch at the time desired, for his vessel lay between Goree and Dacard, and within half a mile of the latter village. In consequence of looking out, he saw the parties go. They were generally from ten to fifteen in number. They had all their war dresses on, and they were accustomed to sally forth a little before dusk. Captain ——— believes, that never a night passed but he saw them go upon these expeditions. He never, however, saw them return, and of course cannot say whether they returned with slaves. He has, however, seen them sally forth in the evening, and, in visiting their huts next day, has seen frequently two slaves tied back and back together, whom he always understood to have been the produce of their exertions in the night.

European  
articles the  
occasion.

The above slaves were intended for Governor Wall, the Governor of Goree, who drove a considerable trade in that species of commerce. Captain ———, upon asking the port captain before-mentioned, whether these parties went in general on their own, or on the king's account, was answered, "that they went by the king's express orders; that the king was in want of spirituous liquors, and that he sent his military to catch people, by the sale of whose persons he might procure them."

One of the  
natives kid-  
napped in the  
neighbour-  
hood of Da-  
kard—  
brought on  
board the  
——.

Captain ——— says, that being but badly manned, and having vacancies in his ship, he signified to Garner, the port captain above-mentioned, that he wanted a volunteer for the ———. Garner replied, that he would get him one. In a day or two afterwards, and a little before dusk, Captain ——— going on shore to Dakard, saw this Garner in company with two black people, who had their war dresses on, and who were then going on some expedition. He conceived at that time they were going to catch slaves, but had no notion (as it afterwards proved) that they were going to catch one for the ———, in consequence of his expression, that "he wanted a volunteer for the ship." On the next evening, however, and after the watch had been set, Garner came along side, and hailed the centinel of the ———. He came in company with two others, and in the canoe was a stout man slave. This man they had kidnapped from one of the neighbouring villages, and they intended to sell him privately to the ship. The officer of the watch, upon being hailed as above described, made his report to Captain ———, who, leaving his cabin, instantly came on deck. It was not long before Garner came on board, and brought with him his captive, who was a stout lusty man, and whom he immediately offered for sale. Captain ——— replied, that he would not encourage such depredations, that he would have nothing to do with the man, and that he, Garner, must immediately take him from the ship. Garner, upon this said, "that he did not know what to do, for that he could not carry him back to his own village;" but finding that Captain ——— still set his face against these measures, he only solicited that he might be kept on board till the morning, when he would come and fetch him, adding at the same time, that "he now intended him for Governor Wall," for that if he, Captain ———, would not purchase him, Governor Wall would. Captain ——— having been much intreated, agreed at length to his request, and Garner immediately left the vessel.

Jumps over-  
board.

Captain ——— in the interim took care of the young man, and ordered him to be fed. In the morning Garner, attended by two others in a canoe, came to fetch him. The two latter staid in the canoe while the former



former went on board. The young man, upon being delivered up, was desired to go down the ship's side in the canoe, while Garner followed him. He accordingly did as he was ordered, but Garner thinking that he might escape, if his arms were not secured, turned back to ask for a piece of rope to confine him. The young man in the interim seized the opportunity which appeared to offer, and jumped overboard, notwithstanding that the water there was remarkably infested with sharks.

Garner, upon seeing this, immediately jumped into the canoe, and they paddled after him. In a little time they came up with him as he was making for the shore, but he dived, and eluded their search for that time. In this manner they continued, the one party in pursuit, and the other attempting to escape, in the manner now described, till coming into shallow water, where their own canoe could swim, but where he could not dive, they caught hold of him. In this situation he would inevitably have gone into slavery, had not the good Maraboo of Dakard (the very brother of Garner) pitying his case, came with others to his assistance. They accordingly rescued him from the hands of the captors, and took him into their own village. Captain ——— happened on the same evening to go to Dakard. The young man upon seeing him, ran to meet him, and to express his joy, as well as gratitude, on this occasion. He said that his brother had property in the village from which he had been stolen, and that he would take care and send Captain ——— a bullock for the kindness he had shewn him. Captain ——— however could not receive it, because he soon afterwards left the place.

Escapes—  
gratitude to  
Captain —  
on the occa-  
sion.

Captain ———, soon after this transaction, went to the River Gambia. Being still in want of hands for his ship, he had let drop the same expressions there, as he had done while lying between Goree and Dakard. The black person who piloted his vessel, happening to hear him, promised to procure him one or two for the purposes expressed. On a certain day two negroes, a lad and a boy, the former of whom had a basket of onions upon his head, were seduced to the river side. Captain ——— got into his boat, and was rowed close along the shore where they were standing. He made his observations upon them as he passed. He did not perfectly like them, and of course saw them no more. He was informed however afterwards by the pilot, that they had been seduced under some pretence (he believes of bringing the onions of one of them, which he had upon his head, to a better market) to come down, and that if he (Captain ———,) had approved of them, they would have been both of them farther deceived, and sold to the vessel.

Two of the  
natives on  
the Gambia  
seduced  
down to the  
river to be  
made slaves.

Captain ——— supposing by the two instances above recited, that he might innocently become the means of tearing some unoffending people from their connexions, and of putting them to considerable pain, resolved to make no farther declaration of his wants, but to go immediately to the merchants and factors, and buy one for his Majesty's service who had already been procured. He accordingly bought a young lad in the same river, of about the age of twelve. This lad followed him home, but died afterwards at Sheerness. As soon as he could be understood, he informed Captain ——— of his history. He told him that the village, in which he lived, was attacked by robbers in the night; that the robbers came to his father's hut; that his father was killed in opposing them; that his mother shared the same fate, but that he was taken, and that in the morning he found himself in a croud of captives, all of whom had been taken from the same village. Captain ——— is of opinion therefore, from this, and the two instances before-mentioned, as well as the circumstance of seeing

Boy purchas-  
ed on the  
Gambia—  
taken with  
others of the  
natives by  
robbers in  
the night.

ing the villagers of Dakard go regularly out in their war dresses in the night, that most of those who are reduced to a state of servitude in those parts of the coast which he has visited, are forced into that situation by means of treachery or surprize.

**Kidnapping practised by the whites—several treacherously taken off from the continent about Goree.** Captain ——— is of opinion, that not only the black people lie in wait for one another, but that the Europeans are to be noted also, when opportunity offers, for similar depredations. Governor Wall, the Governor of Goree, was accustomed to dispatch his emissaries to the opposite continent, whose office it was to inveigle the unsuspecting natives, and in the moment of their intoxication, to force them away. This Captain ——— can positively speak to.

**Others taken off from the Gambia.** When he came to the River Gambia, his opinion on this subject was only the more confirmed, for the different traders advised him not to land, and the reason was, that the English had committed such depredations in that river, that his person would never be safe on shore. That an English trading vessel in particular, which had come there in distress, had ungratefully, as well as fraudulently, taken off several of the inhabitants of the shore, among whom was a principal man, or prince, and that they had come to a resolution of seizing the first great man whom they could get into their possession of that nation. This was the reason why Captain ———, as stated in a former paragraph, examined the young men that were seduced to the water's edge, while in the act of passing them in the boat; for during the time of his stay in the river Gambia, he never once ventured on shore, though his boat, with its proper crew, was going backwards and forwards repeatedly.

**Third instance of the kind.** In the River Gambia also, he found a man who informed him, that he had been fraudulently taken away from thence by a Bristol trader; that having the good luck to have an opportunity of making his case known to the Governor of the island, where he was sold in the British colonies, he was very honorably sent back from thence to London, and from London to his native spot. This circumstance, with the other two now mentioned, has sufficiently weighed with Captain ———, to make him suppose, that the white people are not less notorious than the black, for committing depredations of this sort, whenever an opportunity offers.

**Loss of seamen in the slave trade—in his Majesty's vessels on the coast.** When Captain ——— was in the River Gambia, there were two or three English vessels, and two of the Danish nation there: the former had suffered so much in consequence of the loss of their seamen, that the Captains were obliged repeatedly to ask him for assistance to navigate their vessels. The Danish however had suffered more. On board the ———, on the other hand, were ninety men. These were from five to six months upon the coast. They were employed also in wooding and watering, notwithstanding which, Captain ——— never lost a man. He attributes the healthiness of his own crew, principally to his own precaution, for he never suffered any of them to wood and water, without giving them previously bark. On board the other vessels now mentioned, no care whatever was taken of their respective crews.

**Face of the country—productions—manufactures of the inhabitants—attachment to their own country.** On those parts of the Coast of Africa which Captain ——— visited, were growing spontaneously, cotton, indigo, and tobacco, the former article is manufactured into cloths, the workmanship of which is neat, and would be considered so by the artists of this country in the same line. To these productions may be added, peppers of various sorts, and



and woods of variegated green. The face of the country is perhaps the finest of any in the globe. The banks of the Gambia have some little resemblance to the banks of the Thames, but the former exceed the latter in appearance, on account of the very beautiful and various shades of green with which the trees and shrubs upon them are universally covered. The natives too are by no means wanting in ingenuity, or a proficiency in the mechanical arts. They seem to be very happy in their own country, and to despise that of the Europeans, for Captain —— has frequently conversed with old sensible negroe priests, who have uniformly and repeatedly told him, that “the European country must be bad indeed, or the inhabitants of that country would never be at so much pains, or put themselves to so much expence, to visit theirs.

C c

THE

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from a Personal Interview with him, and from  
his own Letter.

No. XVIII.

No. XVIII.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give  
evidence.

**C**APTAIN ——— commanded his Majesty's ship the ———. Immediately after the peace he was sent by Government to the Coast of Africa, to give up the Island of Goree to the French. It was there that he had an opportunity of collecting information relative to the subject of these papers. He was the next commander that went to the Coast after Captain ———, the gentleman whose evidence is contained in the preceding sheets.

Natives on  
the continent  
about Goree  
—ingenuity  
in manufac-  
tures—might  
be brought  
over to a new  
commerce.

The natives of Africa are, in the opinion of Captain ———, a very ingenious people, and very excellent workmen and manufacturers, as their cloth and other commodities sufficiently shew; and it is also his opinion, that if proper encouragements were held out to them, they would embark in any new line of intercourse that might be pointed it.

Kings use  
pretences to  
enslave  
them.

Captain ——— is of opinion, that the princes of Africa make use of every pretence that they can devise, or every occurrence that happens, to turn it into an occasion to enslave their people.

King of  
Damel con-  
demns one  
of his sub-

When Captain ——— commanded at Goree, the king of Damel sent a man from the continent to be sold. As it had been the rule of the island, that every article for sale should first be brought to the government-house for



for permission, Captain ——— had an opportunity of seeing the man who had been brought down. He had the curiosity to enquire, by means of an interpreter, of the guards that brought him, how he became a slave. They replied, that their prisoner had been a free-man, that he had a wife and family in a village near the residence of their king, that he had been so unfortunate as to have been the occasion of part of a corn field taking fire belonging to the king, and that he had been seized and brought for sale to make good the damage. Captain ———, upon this, asked if it was merely accident, or whether proof had arisen to convict him of malice or intention. The guard replied, that it was never inquired into, nor even thought of, nor was it of any consequence, the damage had been done, and the king was not to lose either by his intention, misfortune, or neglect. Capt. ——— having satisfied his curiosity relative to the history of the unfortunate man, sent him back, not considering it to be within the line of his duty to suffer any traffick of that sort till the island should be delivered up to the French. The above culprit was above six feet two inches high, and had a noble open countenance, which was far from implying guilt, or betraying fear, but he seemed to submit with composure and inward dignity to the injustice of his sentence, and the severity of his fate.

By this single instance, it evidently appears, that prisoners of war do not constitute the only order of slaves, (as has been alleged) but that kings and despots sell their own subjects into slavery, and that they can easily find or make a *crime* of an *accident*, when their necessities or luxuries require a sacrifice of their subjects.

Captain ——— says, that another way of procuring people to serve as slaves is to kidnap them. This is particularly the case with strangers, who can seldom or ever travel without being seized and sold. One instance of which came under his own knowledge.

A courier having been sent to Albredà, on the Banks of the Gambia, before his arrival at Goree, by the former commandant of the fort, in which he, Captain ———, then resided, with dispatches on Government account, was seized by some of the natives, hurried down to a French polacre then flaving at Portudâl, and sold there, notwithstanding that he was a moor and a musselman, a native of Senegal, spoke the French language fluently, and had dispatches in his pocket directed on his Britannick Majesty's service. Fortunately for him he could write, and he contrived to dispatch a short note describing his wretched situation which came into Captain ———'s hands.

Captain ——— upon this sent another courier who knew both the master of the vessel and the unfortunate prisoner, to identify his person, if necessary, and with a letter, demanding him as a person employed on his Britannick Majesty's account. The French Captain, however, on being applied to, refused to let the messenger see the person, and contented himself with sending Captain ——— a verbal message, "that he had bought a slave somewhat answering the description given, but knew not of his being a freeman, or of his having dispatches, that he had purchased him at a fair price, and could not think in justice to his owners to give him up, adding, that if any were to blame in the transaction, those might answer it who sold him." Captain ———, on the receipt of this message, was determined to have him by force: but the following occurrence rendered his determination, or rather the execution of it, unnecessary.

The

Mate and six  
of the Crew  
of the French  
vessel stop-  
ped and  
confined.

The Frenchman, having been at the Island of Goree before Capt. —'s arrival, had left a quantity of stores and trading articles there, which he now recollected it would be requisite to get away. He accordingly sent his mate and six men in his long-boat to fetch them. These people landed at Goree, but their arrival was no sooner announced to Captain —, than by his order they were seized and confined.

Mate con-  
fesses the  
courier to be  
on board.

Having been informed afterwards of the cause of their detention, and that they would never be released till the person confined in their vessel was given up, the chief mate requested that he might be allowed a courier to dispatch to the ship. This request of his was complied with, and he accordingly sent one to his Captain, with an account at the same time of all that had happened. On the fourth day the courier returned, bringing a letter from the Captain to his mate, in which he said "that he would not give up the man, that Captain — would be soon tired of keeping them all, and therefore advised him to make himself as easy as he could." This letter so exasperated the mate, that he immediately shewed it to Capt. —, telling him at the same time, that the very man, whom he was endeavouring to extricate, was actually on board the ship, that he had seen his dispatches, and that he had told the circumstance to his Captain, who refused to see them, or the man himself, under the flimsy pretence, that if any inquiry should be made, he might say, "that he knew not the fact."

Courier  
delivered up  
—wretched  
situation.

In this state matters continued for some time. However, about twelve days after the departure of the last messenger, the French Captain finding Captain — inflexibly obstinate, and wanting to remove his own vessel to another part of the coast to trade there, which he was unable to do without his long-boat, mate, men, stores, and trading articles, returned the man: not however with any compunction, but in a condition too melancholy to relate. In an open canoe, or rather coble, hallowed out of the trunk of a tree, and little more than two feet wide, paddled by two black men, hired for that purpose, lay the poor innocent and emaciated wretch. He was nearly exhausted. He had been thirty-six hours on the water without sustenance, and both his legs were in irons. These irons he had been compelled to wear upwards of a month, and they had eaten so deeply into his flesh, that when they were knocked off, he was unable to walk. This inability was to be attributed also to his having been cramped up and confined in one particular posture for so long a time. In this situation he was obliged to be supported up to the Government-house on the shoulders of two men, and it was nearly a month before he was sufficiently recovered to attempt his return to Senegal.

Kidnapping  
practised by  
the whites.

Captain — is of opinion, if he is allowed to judge from the following instance, that the Europeans make no hesitation to trepan the natives of Africa, whenever an opportunity offers.

One of the  
natives  
treache-  
rously taken  
off and sold.

Governor Wall, the Governor of Goree, sent some of his people to the opposite continent, to seduce to the water-side and to bring off a certain man. A party fell in with him, and in the course of a little time they desired him to drink; he accordingly took the bowl, and lifted it to his mouth, and in the very act of drinking, (a time when the person of every one so occupied is considered to be sacred there) they took the opportunity of seizing him and carrying him away. Captain — came to the knowledge of this fact by the following means. His situation compelled him to act as a magistrate while at Goree. During the time in which it was usual for complaints to be preferred, the brother of the unfortunate man,



man, who had been so treacherously taken, and afterwards shipped off, came from the main land to the island, and appeared in court. He was a Mahometan, and was therefore desired to explain the circumstance, and to swear to the truth of the same, according to the manner of his country, and the ceremonies of his religion. The energy, which he discovered on this occasion, was a proof to Captain ——— of such an affection for his captured brother, that the loss of him must have been a calamity scarcely to be borne.

Captain ——— does not hesitate to say, that if the slave trade were abolished, all these enormities would cease. It has been before stated, that he sent back the man, who had been brought from the king of Damel for sale, in consequence of having been the occasion of a part of a corn field taking fire. When he sent him back, however, he took an opportunity of sending to the king of Damel the following message, namely, "That the king need not trouble himself to send any more slaves to Goree during his residence on that island, for that he could not permit them to be sold." He was afterwards told that the message, by means of which the market of the king of Damel would be closed up, would unavoidably save the man, as well as many other of his countrymen from slavery, and that he would never more make pretences, that his subjects had been guilty of crimes, so long as he, Captain ———, should stay there. And it is remarkable, that Captain ——— never heard any more of the man, nor of any other convict during the several months he resided there; nor did he ever, though he succeeded Captain ———, and his vessel lay in the same place, ever see those expeditions in the night, which the latter (p. 98) so frequently saw. And the reason of it, in his opinion, was, that the market being stopped, the enormities ceased with it.

Were the slave-trade abolished, these enormities would cease.

Captain ——— says, that the slave-trade has undoubtedly a tendency to harden and corrupt the hearts of those who pursue it. It appeared to him, by several instances which he saw and heard of, that it was expected on their approach to this coast, that they should in a certain degree divest themselves even of the appearance of humanity, as a garb, useless not only to the natives, but among themselves. How far they would have the power to resume it, at a certain latitude on their return, and to get rid of their cargoes and barbarity together, is a matter that would bear dispute.

Has a tendency to harden the heart.

On the island of Goree were several slaves belonging to the King of Great Britain, who had been purchased by the different Governors to do those necessary works in the heat of the day, under which an European might have fainted. When these poor people heard that the garrison was to be given up, they were under the most dreadful apprehensions imaginable, lest they should be sold and sent into West Indian slavery. This circumstance is mentioned only as a proof of their attachment to their own country, and their abhorrence of another.

Attachment of the natives to their own country.

Captain ——— sailed from England in the ———, with a crew, including officers and people of one hundred men. He was on the Coast for some months, during which time his crew were employed as in other ships, being not exempt from wooding and watering, and such other employments as have been generally deemed destructive of health upon that Coast, notwithstanding which (though it must be confessed he took great care of them) he never lost a single man.

Loss of seamen in his Majesty's vessels on the coast.

# THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EVIDENCE OF

Taken from several Conversations with him in —,  
and from his own Journal regularly kept during his  
Residence on the Coast.

---

## No. XIX.

No. XIX.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. —, a native of Sweden, had long entertained a wish to visit the coast of Africa, not with any view of emolument, or in the way of trade, but to satisfy his own curiosity, and to make his observations upon a people, whose history he considered to be but little known. Having made up his mind to go, he communicated his intention to the King, who gave him encouragement to proceed, and recommended him also to the notice of the King of France. Having obtained the approbation of both kings, he embarked at Havre de Grace, in company with Dr. Spaarman and a Swedish officer, in the beginning of the month of August 1787, and, after a passage, in which nothing remarkable happened, arrived at the island of Goree.

While he resided on this island, he frequently visited the main land, opposite to it, for the purpose of forwarding his inquiries, Dr. Spaarman generally accompanying him, and making a progress in the history of the plants and vegetables to be found there.

It



It happened during his stay at this island, that an embassy was sent with presents from the Governor to the King of Joal, as is customary with the French, in order that they may secure the friendship and services of the negroe kings. He obtained leave for himself and his two friends to accompany the embassy, which consisted of two other white people (the chief of whom was Mr. Waffimont) and four mulatto merchants. They went down by water to Joal, and returned the same way. Mr. — was in the different villages about Joal, and on most parts of the coast from thence to Goree.

On his return to the latter place he frequently visited the main land as before, and continued his observations there. He was once for a fortnight at a time among the villagers of Dakard, Bain, and other places. At this time he went unattended and alone.

At another time he made an excursion by water in company with Dr. Spaarman and others to Fort St. Louis in the river Senegal, where he resided for a little time. From this place he returned again to Goree, and having satisfied himself on the subject of his errand, embarked from thence to Havre de Grace, where he arrived in the month of February 1788.

Mr. —, having given this general history of his tour, begs leave to add to it the following particular account, which in general applies to an extent of territory of about 180 miles in length, lying either immediately on, or at a few miles distance from, the coast.

The woods in this extent of territory, which comprizes the country almost from the river Gambia to the river Senegal, are various in their appearance and use. Among these are the calabash tree, or in the language of the natives, Bahobab, and in the same language, the jimplakee, date, quelle, tumiah, samain, and benten, or wood of which they make their canoes. To these are to be added others, which are known to the Europeans by name, such as the palm tree, mangrove, white and black ebony, mahogany, and yellow sanders. Mr. — collected specimens of all these as well as of many others, which he has now in his possession. Many of these woods are very beautiful in their appearance, being of a brown, black, and yellow, or exhibiting shades from a deep crimson colour to a pink. Several of them are fit for cabinet work, and others for dying. There is wood also in the country fit for ship building and other uses. Mr. Cleveland employs decked vessels at the Bananas, and Mr. Barber employed them at the Isles de Los, which were made of the woods of Africa.

Productions  
of the coun-  
try from  
Joal to the  
river Sene-  
gal.

Among the other productions of this part of the world may be reckoned tobacco, which is to be found from Joal to the river Senegal, and is very good in its kind.

Indigo is another plant to be found there. The natives pound it in a mortar, and put hot water upon it. Having stirred it about till it has a proper consistency, they take it out of the mortar, and making it up into cakes, they expose it to the sun. Though the process is so simple, it emits a colour, which no indigo from any other quarter of the globe can equal.

Cotton grows all over the country wild. It is of two kinds as far as relates to colour, being of a nankeen and a white. Some of the latter, which Mr. — gathered in its wildest state at Dakard, was sent by the Committee of Privy Council to Manchester, for the inspection of the manufacturers

manufacturers there, who pronounced it to be of the first class, and equal to that from the East Indies. The specimen of this cotton, however, is by no means equal to the specimen of another which he collected from the Gambia.

Rice also grows in the greatest luxuriance in the same tract of country, and is particularly good. Millet and Guinea corn are indigenous also, as well as beans of various sorts, which are excellent as food. There is a species of the bean, which is however never eaten by the natives, but is said to be used for dying. The Moors gather great quantities of it about the river Senegal, and carry it in large sacks upon their camels to Morocco. Besides these beans are bananas, plantains, and other vegetables.

All over the country from Joal to Senegal is to be found a tree, which produces a certain nut. This nut has medicinal qualities. It is a purgative, and serves also as an emetick. The natives use it for these purposes. Dr. Spaarman, who tried it, spoke in the highest terms of its effects.

Tamarinds also grow in the greatest abundance, and without any trouble of cultivation, to which may be added water-melons and other fruits.

Mr. W. ——— says, that ambergris is very plentiful in the part of the country which he is now describing. The natives use it, instead of tar, for their canoes. He does not know whether gold is to be found within these limits, but it is plentiful at Galam, the very earth about which is impregnated with it. This he knows, because he has bought the Galam pipes, which are made of the clay of the country, and which clay is profusely impregnated with gold. Gums also of various sorts are to be added to the account.

Mr. ——— has specimens of every thing, which he has now mentioned, in his possession. But there are many others, of which he has no such specimens, and which he cannot describe for want of knowing their names, that would form new articles of trade.

Ingenuity  
of the na-  
tives in point  
of manufac-  
tures.

The natives within the limits assigned are in the opinion of Mr. ——— a very ingenious and clever people.

About Joal and Dakard they make soap, which is of such excellent quality, that none made by the Europeans is equal to it.

At Senegal and Goree, they work in wood, and turn it with great neatness. They make also looms, furniture, canoes, and other vessels.

From Joal to Senegal, and from Senegal as high up as Galam, they use pipes for smoking, and manufacture them themselves. These pipes are peculiarly neat, and would do credit to European artificers.

They work also in various other ways. Of the roots of trees they make twisted thread, which is strong and pretty in its appearance; and of the straw of aloes, they make chords or ropes, which are very strong, and with which they move forward immense weights. Decorations also for the arms and body are worked with neatness from similar materials.

They have also artificers in leather. The Moors first introduced saddles, and made them, but the natives of the tract described equal the inventors in



in that art. They make also sandals, pouches, and other articles of convenience. Some of their grisgris consist of leather, and these they make and sew with a neatness, in which no European artist can excel them.

With respect to their cotton cloths, it is impossible that any people can weave better.—The very best cloths that are made at Manchester are not at all better, in point of texture, than those which are made in Dakard and other villages. In short the natives, as far as Mr. ——— has had opportunities of seeing them, are as ingenious and capable of improvement, as the inhabitants of other nations.

That they might be brought also by degrees to be as industrious as the Europeans, is a position which he maintains to be equally true. They are already as industrious as other people in the same stage of society, and carry on their manufactures and works of labour, in proportion to the demand which they have for them. But this industry might be carried to any length, were but the slave trade abolished. As a proof of it, there is a king already in Africa, namely, king Dalmammy, on the banks of the river Senegal, who has of himself seen its pernicious tendency and effects, and who, in consequence of it, in the year 1787, not only prohibited his subjects from dealing in slaves, but others also from marching them to market through his territories. He has substituted, by proper encouragement, agriculture and the arts; and his subjects, under his prudent administration, have been won over; are now making a rapid progress in industry and civilization; and will soon be far beyond the inhabitants of the different kingdoms that surround him.

Mr. ——— is clearly of opinion, that if the Europeans were to exert themselves properly, they might prevail upon the rest of the kings to adopt the same measures; in consequence of which, their subjects would be led by degrees to as high a pitch of industry as the subjects of other nations. He has seen so many instances of the effects, which a certain conduct would have upon them, as to have put the question, in his own mind, entirely out of doubt.

It has been often objected that European colonies, by which alone it has been presumed, that so desirable an event could be brought to pass, could be never settled in Africa, on account of the many impediments that would occur. The climate has been reported to be fatal to European constitutions, the ground to be covered with thorns and thickets, and the very air to swarm with musquitoes and other insects, which would inconceivably distress those who should be so rash as to settle there. But Mr. ——— considers the argument as of no weight. The cultivation of the country would in time totally remove these impediments. For, in the first place, the thorns and thickets would in the course of it be removed, (and that easily) by fire. In the second place, the swamps would be drained, and the musquitoes, which are bred and take up their residence either wholly among or in the neighbourhood of these, would soon vanish. In the third place, the climate would be improved, for the clearing of the thickets on the one hand, and the draining of the swamps on the other, as just mentioned, having taken place, such an effect could not be otherwise than produced. In the interim, however, the settlers might fix their habitations on the sides of mountains, and, moving either higher or lower upon them, might have any climate they chose, while the musquitoes could always be hindered from incommoding them by means of smoke. Both Mr. ——— and Dr. Spaarman, made the impediments now mentioned, the subject of their thoughts, and were both of them fully convinced, that they might easily be removed.

Might be brought over to habits of industry and a new commerce.

Certain objections to European settlements on the coast of Africa answered.

Method of  
obtaining  
slaves in the  
country,  
from Joal to  
the River  
Senegal.

Mr. ——— having expressed himself amply on the productions of Africa, nearly from the River Gambia to the Senegal, and on the ingenuity of the inhabitants, and the probability of introducing habits of industry among them, as well as on the insufficiency of certain objections to European settlements on the coast, intends now to describe the methods which are used to enslave the inhabitants living in the same tract. To do this with as much accuracy as possible, he will describe them as they came to his knowledge at the three different periods before-mentioned; first, during his residence at Goree; secondly, at Joal; thirdly, at Fort St. Louis, on the River Senegal, and he will prefix the dates to the different transactions as they stand upon his journal, placing them only in such a manner, as shall appear to elucidate the subject best.

The methods used to obtain slaves, as they fell under the notice of Mr. ———, during his residence in and about Goree, were three, namely, *private kidnapping*, or robbery, *treachery* or stratagem, and *Pillage* by the different kings, which pillage is generally executed on the persons of their own subjects, all of which will be seen from the following accounts.

Young woman kidnapped at Cape Rouge.

On the 17th of October, 1787, Mr. ——— was conversing at Goree with a very respectable mulatto merchant, of the name of Guisbon, on the method of making slaves, when he was informed, that a young negroe woman, living in the country about Cape Rouge, had been lately stolen in the absence of her husband, and forcibly dragged away. Her case was attended with this additional circumstance of cruelty, that she was torn from her children, who, being too young to undergo the fatigue of the journey, were left behind. She was sold to the Captain of a slave vessel from Rochfort.

Customary to separate the mother from her children on such occasions.

Mr. Guisbon added, that the circumstance of separating the children from the mother, when the former were too young to travel, was not uncommon, and that there were people on the continent, encouraged by the merchants of Goree, who lived by such depredations.

Boy kidnapped.

On conversing on the 19th of October, 1787, with Mr. Villeneuve's boy, Mr. ——— was informed by him, that he had been stolen about a year ago from his parents, in the interior country above Cape Rouge; that the inhabitants of the shore usually came up in bodies for this purpose, and that they unfortunately met with him, and brought him to Goree, in company with others, whom they had taken in the same manner. This lad had several cuts upon his face, which were the marks of his own nation.

Young woman kidnapped at Ambarou.

On the 3d of December, 1787, a young woman was brought in, and purchased by Mr. Le Doux, for eighty bars, who had been kidnapped or stolen near the village of Ambarou.

Natives employed to go out and kidnap.

On the 2d of November, 1787, Mr. ——— held a conversation with Mr. Demanche, relative to the mode of obtaining slaves. He was informed, that there were certain people on the continent, employed by the slave merchants at Goree, for the purpose of getting slaves; that when these came to the island, they received great encouragement; that they were treated with brandy and other spirituous liquors to make them keep to their engagements, and that it was their business to go into the interior country, and steal as many of the inhabitants as they could.

The latter anecdote was first communicated by Mr. Guisbon in a conversation held with him on the 17th of October as before mentioned, so that from the testimony of the two, Mr. ——— has no doubt of the authenticity of the fact. They also both of them asserted, in the different interviews which



which Mr. ——— had with them on the subject, that the greatest part of the slaves shipped from Goree last year, had been taken in this predatory manner.

In various other conversations held at different times with Mr. Durecù, and the rest of the gentlemen mentioned, it appeared that kidnapping was one of the grand sources of supplying the slave trade. There was a person, particularly infamous at Dakard for these practices. His name was Garner. He was accustomed to lie in wait with his party in the woods, and seize upon all that should pass by. The travelling negroes frequently fell into his snare. When he had gotten these or others into his possession, he brought them to Goree in his canoe, where he was well known to the inhabitants as a stealer of men.

Stragglers waylaid— Garner, a notorious robber.

On the 23d of November 1787, Mr. ——— held a conversation with Mr. Dukame, who informed him that the custom of kidnapping extended as far as Bambara and Galam, which are situated about 600 miles up the river Senegal. He had seen several of the slaves from that quarter, and had been witness to many scenes of distress, particularly among the women of Bambara (who have fine feelings) on account of being torn from their relatives and friends.

Kidnapping practised as far as Bambara and Galam.

With respect to treachery and stratagem, as another source of continuing the slave trade, the two following instances, which came under Mr. ———'s notice during his residence at Goree, are to be found in his journal.

Treachery and stratagem another source of the slave trade.

On the 6th of December 1787, Mr. Le Doux purchased a man slave. His history was this. He went from Rufisk to Dakard, where his wife was visiting, to bring her back. Being handsome and well made, he attracted the notice of a certain French merchant of Goree, who happened to be there at the same time. This merchant immediately applied to the chief of the village to seize and sell him. On a proposal made by the chief to the people, they agreed to his request, for it is a law in those parts, that if all the village consent, any visitor residing among them may be made a slave. To gain the consent of a whole village on such an occasion is by no means difficult. The Africans in general, like other people in the same state, are governed by their passions, and the prince has only to distribute a sufficient quantity of spirituous liquors among them to produce the effect he wishes for. Such was the case in the present instance, and the unfortunate man, though he was their neighbour and visitor, was taken and sent into slavery. His wife having heard of his capture, came down bathed in tears. She begged to be bought, that she might go with him and share his fate. But the dealer, who bought him, had probably no goods at the time, and her intreaties were in vain. Mr. ——— saw the young man on the same day on which he was brought to Goree. He lay quite melancholy upon the sand on the area of Mr. Le Doux's house. Both his hands and feet were in irons. Mr. ——— attempted to speak only to him, but he answered him by a flood of tears.

Young man from Rufisk trapped and sold— distress of his wife on the occasion.

The second instance, which follows, was communicated to Mr. ——— on the 8th of December, 1787, by Mr. Villeneuve. The king of Sallum, under pretence of wanting some millet, sent to a neighbouring village for a certain woman, who had a quantity to dispose of. Elated with the prospect of selling it to advantage, she did not consider the imprudence of the step, which she was about to take. She accordingly went to the king, who not only immediately deprived her of her millet, but made her a slave. Mr. Villeneuve acquainted Mr. ——— with this fact, having been at Sallum at the time, and having purchased the woman.

Woman from the neighbourhood of Sallum trepanned and sold.

On

**Pillage.**

On the subject of Pillage, as far as any knowledge was communicated to Mr. —, during his residence at Goree, relative to the obtaining of slaves in that manner, he gives the following account.

Twenty-seven of the natives taken by pillage in the neighbourhood of Sallum. Shocking situation of some of them.

On the 10th of November 1787, a few hours after his return from Joal, a vessel arrived at Goree from Sallum with 27 slaves, four of whom were men, and the rest women and children. The passage from Sallum to Goree is only eight days, notwithstanding which the friction, on account of the vessel's motion, had been so great, and the irons put upon the men so heavy and galling, that they were shocking to behold, the red flesh hanging down, and the blood covering their feet. A poor child also, about two years old only, had a deep wound in his side from one of the causes before mentioned. He lay, upon being landed, with the wound contiguous to the ground, so that the sand getting into it put him to excruciating pain. This vessel belonged to Mr. Martin, a Mulattoe merchant at Goree, who informed Mr. —, that during his stay at Sallum, the whole cargo, consisting of 27, was completed by *pillage*, and that the king has recourse to that measure, when in want of slaves.

Pillage the common method with the king of Sallum of obtaining slaves.

That this was his usual practice Mr. — learnt also from another quarter. Mr. Villeneuve, on the 18th of December 1787, informed him that he had lately come from Sallum, that the king, if he likes the articles of merchandize that are offered him, sends his military to pillage; that these make incursions upon his neighbours, and bring them off if they can; but if they should be too well prepared for his emissaries, that he orders them to turn their arms upon his own subjects. This account from Mr. Villeneuve is a farther confirmation of the fact.

Mr. — having given such anecdotes as came under his notice, or were communicated to him, while at Goree, proceeds to the communication of such others, as he came to the knowledge of, while at Joal.

Pillage practised at Joal

There was but one method of obtaining slaves in this part of the country. The method alluded to was *pillage*. The following is a description of the persons concerned in it, and their various successs.

Accoutrements of the king of Barbesin's military.

There were several parties of the king of Barbesin's military assembled at six in the evening, or about dusk. Each party consisted of about ten or twelve. A large horseman's musket was rested on each of their saddles, in the same manner as those of the English heavy cavalry. On their shoulders were suspended a bow, and a quiver full of arrows. Thus equipped, they went to different villages belonging to the king, and returned usually about five in the morning, or a little before day light.

Three children taken.

In one of these pillages, they returned with but three children, the rest of the village having probably taken the alarm, and having had time to escape.

A young woman taken—her history—is sent back.

At another time, namely, on the 5th of November, 1787, they returned with a beautiful young woman, who had been plundered from one of the king's own villages. She was immediately delivered, notwithstanding her tears and cries, to Mr. Wassimont, who carried her on board the vessel, in which he came on the embassy from Goree.

It was fortunate for the young girl, that she belonged to one of those families, which, in consequence of their birth, are exempted by the laws of the country from slavery. This occasioned a commotion: for the action appeared



appeared in the minds of the people to be so unjust, and repugnant to the established laws, that they were nearly on the point of rebelling. The king, when he came to his senses (for he had given his orders respecting the seizure of this girl in a state of intoxication) saw in so lively a manner the consequences of this rash proceeding, that with the most abject submission, he descended to prayers and intreaties with Mr. Wassimont, to return the innocent and unfortunate girl. Mr. Wassimont, however, though surrounded by more than two thousand negroes at the time, and though the embassy consisted but of five white people, accompanied by only three or four mulatto merchants from Goree, was so madly obstinate, as for a long time to refuse his request. At length, after much intreaty, the king promised him two others in exchange, whom he expected to seize on a future expedition; and thus was the unhappy girl restored to her disconsolate family.

On the 6th day of November 1787, the military, who had been again A man taken dispatched to pillage, returned a little before noon, but they returned but <sup>en</sup> with one man, whom they took at a little distance from Joal. He was dragged between two of them on horseback, and delivered to the crowd that were assembled before the gate at the village of Joal. The latter, having drums, horns, and other instruments of noise, for the purpose of drowning the cries of such as are made captive, conducted him to the king.

On the 7th of November 1787, the king, with two or three of his ministers or marabouts, paid a visit at about three in the morning to Mr. Wassimont and his friends, among whom Mr. — was. They were then sleeping in their huts, but rose immediately on being awakened, to receive him. Mr. Wassimont did not fail, in the course of the visit, to do every thing in his power to excite him to send out his military again. With this view he gave him wine, brandy, and liquors, and pressed him in a very urgent manner. The king, thus plied with liquor on the one hand, and strongly importuned on the other, promised that he would divide his military the next day into more parties than before, and that he would set them upon several villages at once, and assured the embassy that he could not fail of receiving a sufficient number of slaves to discharge his debts, as well as to return for the presents brought him, and that every one of the company should have a slave.

King of Barbadoes's visit to the French—is tempted again to pillage—promises.

On the 8th of November 1787, the king paid another visit to the embassy. He had been exceedingly sick on account of the many mixed liquors that had been given to him the day before, and came to ask the advice of Dr. Spaarman, whom he understood to be a medical man. When he came into the hut he appeared to be more composed than common, for he had not taken any spirituous liquors the whole day. Mr. Wassimont immediately reminded him of the promise, which he had given him the day before. He insisted upon being paid for the presents brought to him from the governor, and that all the slave-debts due to the inhabitants of Goree should be paid also, and even went so far as to threaten him, if he did not send out his military to bring in all upon whom they could lay their hands.

Second visit—is again tempted.

The king made a reply, which being interpreted word for word by Joseph, a Mulatto merchant and mayor of the town of Goree, ran thus: "He thought it exceedingly hard that he should be obliged so continually to distress his subjects. He complained that the inhabitants of Goree were continually coming to Joal under pretence of trade; that they took occasion to present him with various articles, articles trifling and significant in themselves, and which he neither wished for nor liked; and that they then

His reply.

“ came upon him with long accounts, with debts said to be due, with  
 “ pretensions without end; and, he was sorry to say, in the name of the  
 “ governor of Goree: that the governor, living among these people, was  
 “ always on the spot to hear their tales, that he listened too readily to their  
 “ complaints, that he thought very little of the sufferings of the poor  
 “ negroes, and that he must certainly have been imposed upon to suffer  
 “ his name to be used upon such occasions.

Is again  
 urged and  
 consents—  
 numbers an-  
 nually ex-  
 ported from  
 Joal.

This was the reply, which the king made to Mr. Waffimont. There were many other things which he said, in this interval of coolness and sobriety, equally reasonable and just, and many noble sentiments uttered, which might have been expected only from those of a better education. Mr. Waffimont, however, still continued to urge the performance of the promise, and the king at length gave his consent. The pillage was accordingly to commence, but Mr. — does not know what was the result of it, as he left Joal on the same day. The mulatto merchants, however, staid behind, determining not to leave the king, till he had satisfied their demands. Mr. — was informed by mulatto Joseph, that about 1200 slaves are furnished from Joal and its neighbourhood in the course of the year.

Mr. — having now described the methods, used in the country about Joal to make slaves, proceeds to state the result of his inquiries at Fort St. Louis in the river Senegal on the same subject.

Piratical ex-  
 peditions, in  
 the country  
 about the Se-  
 negal, con-  
 stitute what  
 is termed  
 war.  
 Moors  
 furnished  
 with arms &  
 bribed by the  
 French to go  
 upon these  
 expeditions.

The mode of procuring them in that quarter is termed war, though it is in fact robbery, consisting of excursions made by people, who have never been aggrieved, into the territories of one another, and this for the purpose only of possessing them for sale.

It is usual with the French to make presents annually to the Moorish kings. One of the conditions to be fulfilled by them in return is, that they shall be ready on all occasions to furnish slaves. To enable them to fulfill it, the French supply them with ammunition, guns, and other instruments of war. It happened when Mr. — was at Fort St. Louis, that there was a want of slaves, in consequence of the king of Dalmammy's edict before-mentioned, so that he had an opportunity of seeing the services of the Moors on such occasions.

150 of the  
 natives taken  
 and enslaved  
 in this man-  
 ner.

On the 12th of January, 1788, at the instigation of the French, they had begun their incursions, and had sent in about fifty slaves, all of whom had been shipped off in a vessel commanded by Captain de Loup. These were the subjects of king Dalmammy, who had forbidden the prosecution of the slave trade in his dominions. This king is the father of his people, and he would certainly have redeemed these, had not Captain De Loup failed before he had an opportunity of doing it. On the day mentioned above, the Senegal Company were in hourly expectation of the arrival of about an hundred more, all of whom had been taken about four days before in the same piratical manner.

Many more  
 taken—one  
 of them  
 shockingly  
 wounded.

On the 16th of January, 1788, several more were brought in by the Moors, who had attacked their villages in the night, and taken them. One of them was dreadfully mangled. His arms and shoulders were almost cut to pieces. Mr. — visited this man in the prison where the slaves are lodged, and found him a dreadful spectacle. He saw others also lying chained in their own blood, and in a very dejected state.

Though Mr. —, in looking over his journal, does not find any more dates prefixed to incidents of this sort, yet he begs leave to add, that



that during his stay at Fort St. Louis, he repeatedly saw the Moors come in with the captured negroes. They were brought down the river in canoes from the continent, and were ironed or otherwise confined at the same time. Many of them were wounded with sabres, and musket balls, and were in a shocking state.

This is the only way, in which he knows the natives bordering on the Senegal to be made slaves. The Moors, encouraged by the French, attack the villages of the negroes, without any provocation, in the night. The negroes also, allured by the articles of European commerce, make reprisals on one another. Thus the latter live in a state of uncertainty and fear.

Mr. — cannot help mentioning here the following circumstance, though out of order in point of time. A Moor had seized a negroe in one of his excursions, and, having overpowered him, brought him to the Senegal Company to be sold. A few days afterwards he went out again, but was taken by some negroes, and sold by them in his turn. They were both put in the same vessel. This circumstance may appear singular, but it frequently happens among the negroes, that those, who have gone out on expeditions of this sort, are soon afterwards taken themselves, and put into the same vessel as those whom they have stolen.

The kidnapper and kidnapped in the same vessel.

Mr. — cannot close the account of the mode of obtaining slaves, without giving an instance, which will shew the tendency of the slave trade, and its baneful effects upon the human heart.

Bad effects of the slave trade.

One of the Moorish kings had received the usual presents, in consequence of which he was bound to procure slaves. Having been rather dilatory in the performance of his engagement, he was applied to by the Director, who represented to him the pressing wants of the Company. The king, thus forcibly pressed, offered him a certain negroe on account. This negroe was none other than his own minister, who had been his confidential friend and faithful adviser for many years. The Director, shocked at the circumstance, endeavoured to point out to him the impropriety of his conduct, but his representations were ineffectual. The negroe, in whose presence the offer was made, finding that his unworthy master was obstinately bent upon his design, ran up to him, drew his dagger, and, plunging it into his own breast, exclaimed, "Thou savage! I shall have the satisfaction of expiring, before thou canst reap any advantage from thy base ingratitude to the best of servants."

Tends to harden the heart. melancholy instance.

Mr. — having spoken diffusively on the mode of obtaining slaves, proceeds now to state the conduct of the Europeans towards the natives of Africa, as far as he has heard or seen it.

In the month of August or September, 1787, the Captain of an English ship, which had been some time in the river Gambia, had enticed several of the natives on board, and, finding a favourable opportunity, sailed away with them. His vessel however was, by the direction of Providence, driven back to the coast from whence it had set sail, and was obliged to cast anchor on the very spot where this act of treachery had been committed. At this time two other English vessels were lying in the same river. The natives, ever since the transaction, had determined to retaliate. They happened at this juncture to be prepared. They accordingly boarded the three vessels, and, having made themselves masters of them, they killed most of their crews. The few, who escaped to tell the tale, were obliged to take refuge in a neighbouring French factory.

Kidnapping practised by the whites—three English vessels cut off in the Gambia in consequence of it.

These

These particulars were communicated to Mr. ——— by Capt. Wignie, who had just come to Goree from Albreda, the factory alluded to, where he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the fact. Mr. ———, however, since his arrival in London, has heard the circumstance in a great measure confirmed, for the Louisa, Captain Duly, of London, and the Good-Intent, Captain Gardiner, of Liverpool, were cut off in the same river, and in the same month: to which it must be added, that the crew of the Fanny, Captain Mathet, of London, which had been condemned in the Gambia, were on board the former vessel, most of whom, together with the Captain, were killed at the same time.

Fraudulent  
practices in  
the course of  
trade.

With respect to the conduct of the Europeans in the course of their trade, there is no species of injustice which they hesitate to practise. Instead of barrels, containing articles of trade, shewn and approved of, others are substituted apparently of the same size, but containing perhaps less by one half. Advantage is also taken of the difficulty which the natives, following their country arithmetick, have in reckoning above ten, and thus the accounts are confused, and they are deprived of the greater part of the commodities bargained for. The wine and spirits, samples of which the natives have tasted pure, are afterwards adulterated with water. They are defrauded in all sorts of weights and measures. In short, there is not a single European, who scruples to practise these and other frauds in his dealings with the natives, as Mr. ——— has but too frequently been an eye-witness of himself.

Slave trade  
the occasion  
of miseries  
to the na-  
tives, that  
would be  
otherwise  
unknown.]

Mr. ——— is sorry to add, that the slave trade, as encouraged by the Europeans, is the occasion of miseries to the natives, which would be otherwise unknown. To supply this trade, there were people on the continent, opposite to the Island of Goree, as has been stated before, whose employment it was, under the encouragement of the merchants, to go into the interior parts, and tear the inhabitants away by surprise from their different connexions and homes. At Joal the king was intoxicated by the French, that in an interval, when he knew not what he was doing, he might seize upon his innocent subjects to fulfill the demands of the trade. He complained also himself of the artifices used by the merchants of Goree, to force him into proceedings that were contrary to the disposition of his mind. At Senegal also, the Moors were kept in pay by the company there, for the purpose of seizing the inoffensive negroes, whenever there should be a want of them, and dragging them from their relatives and friends; all which circumstances clearly shew, that to the slave trade is to be ascribed a portion of misery, almost inconceivable in itself, that would be otherwise unknown.

Mr. ——— having now nothing more to say relative to the coast, or any other transactions that may have happened there, takes his leave of it to communicate two or three anecdotes that were given him on the subject of the transportation of the natives of Africa, and the profit of the trade.

Middle Pas-  
sage—poison  
occasionally  
administered  
to the slaves  
in the course  
of it.

With respect to the former, Captain De'Loup and several other Captains and Merchants informed him, that the French, when detained by calms or contrary winds, which occasion a shortness of provisions, or when some fatal disease happens to break out among the slaves, mix corrosive sublimate, or some other active poison with their victuals, and thus dispatch them, alleging that this practice is more humane than that of the Dutch or English, who, in similar circumstances, throw them overboard. Hence it happens, that no vessel sails from Havredegrace without a quantity of poison on board.

Captain



Captain De Loup informed him also, that a vessel from Brest, which <sup>Loss of slaves</sup> failed about two years before, had been becalmed on the Middle Passage, <sup>in a vessel</sup> and that the Captain of her had recourse to poison on the occasion. <sup>from Brest--</sup> This vessel failed with 500 slaves, and carried but 24 into Cape Francois.

He was informed also by the same Captain de Loup, that in a vessel <sup>in a vessel</sup> belonging to Mr. Barber, in which 400 were taken from the coast last year, <sup>from Havre.</sup> 307 perished.

With respect to the latter, Mr. Bassat, of Havre, told him that the deal- <sup>Profit of the</sup> ing in slaves was a losing trade; that he knew it from experience, having <sup>slave trade.</sup> visited the coast for about fifteen years, and that he had then 100,000 livres tournois in the hands of the West India planters, which he was unable to get back, though he had been trying to do it for many years.

As a farther proof of the unprofitableness of the trade, Mr. ——— says, that there have been twelve companies, called the Senegal companies, since the possession of that part of Africa by the French; that eleven of these have failed, and that the twelfth would have met with the same fate last year, had not the uncommon profits made upon the gum trade saved them; to which he adds, that it is a notorious fact, that the Danish company, for the prosecution of the slave trade, failed in the year 1787, and that the Danes are now supplied by the French.

THE  
SUBSTANCE  
OF THE  
EVIDENCE  
OF

Taken from a Personal Interview with him both there  
and in London, and from his own Papers.

---

No. XX.

No. XX.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. ——— was with Commodore ——— two voyages on board the ——— to the coast of Africa in the years 1783 and 1785, as his chaplain, companion, and friend. It was an object with the Commodore to land wherever he could, and to inquire of the black people into the mode of obtaining slaves. He never consulted the whites on this subject, as not thinking them on that continent worthy of any credit. Mr. ——— always attended him on shore, and was always present at these conferences with the natives. It was impossible for Mr. ——— to put down the several instances and relations then and there heard. He cannot therefore from this circumstance, as well as that of a want of recollection, relate the particulars: but as the mind, when impressed by numerous facts, imperceptibly discerns and comes to some general decision, so, what he has to offer with respect to the mode of obtaining slaves as well as the history of the seamen in the slave trade, is the result of those particular scenes and narratives which were laid before Commodore ——— and himself in the course of the two voyages above mentioned: and this result may be looked upon as true as if he was in possession of all the particular transactions that gradually co-operated in producing it.

The



The coast of Africa, if the value of it should be drawn from its many Productions and various productions, would be almost inestimable. The very woods of Africa. the country are sufficient of themselves to render it of importance, but its many other valuable commodities being taken into the account, that continent will stand unrivalled by any other on the globe.

The woods that are the most common, or rather the most known, are camwood, barwood, lignum vitæ, and ebony. When Mr. — was at the island of St. Thomas under the line, a Portuguese officer shewed him a small collection of woods, which he had made from the different Guinea-men that had touched there. He had taken some pains to polish, and afterwards to arrange them in a small cabinet. There were several different shades of satin wood, and as many from a pale pink to a crimson, which, in several sorts of ornamental work, would have been considered as inestimable in this country. Mr. — has also seen some beautiful mahogany upon the coast: but the gentleman at the island of St. Thomas, now alluded to, assured him that he had frequently seen very fine and large pieces of that valuable wood in the ships before mentioned. Mr. — brought home some cassia or wild cinnamon from the coast, which he gave to an apothecary for trial. The apothecary used it in his practice, and pronounced it to be as good as any he had ever had in his shop. Mr. — says, that there are various other woods of medicinal virtue, and has no doubt but that a botanist might make a very valuable acquisition to the materia-medica by a collection of barks and plants.

The coast to windward produces various sorts of valuable gums, of the great advantage of which merchandize the French are so sensible, that a company of merchants had it in contemplation to build storehouses at Goree (for so the Governor of that place informed Mr. —) and (that they might avoid the bar of the river Senegal) to bring it over land from Senegal to the former place, though the distance is estimated at one hundred and fifty miles: A positive proof of the immense value of that article, which would bear the expence upon it of so considerable an inland carriage.

The land up the rivers Gambia and Sierra Leona is particularly fertile in rice, corn, and cotton, especially the silk cotton tree, which grows very large, and produces pods of nine inches long and three round. This cotton is uncommonly fine, and if properly managed would be little inferior to the production of the silk-worm. Mr. — saw also another species of cotton, which was of a pale pink. He brought home with him a pod of it. The staple was sufficiently long for the manufacturer, and the cotton was of a beautiful colour.

The indigo plant is another of the productions of Africa that deserves mention. The blue of it much exceeds that of the same plant in other parts. It is of so lively a colour, that Mr. — can compare it to nothing else but the beautiful blue which is found in the real china.

The country to Cape Three Points and Apollonia has been but little explored, though it produces ivory and some gold. Cape Apollonia is wonderfully rich and productive in gold dust, ivory, a variety of grains, rice, millet, Indian corn, spices and peppers of various sorts (of which latter Mr. — brought home the black) and fruits and vegetables, and is equally so, as far as Mr. — has seen to Cape Lopez. In this description he cannot omit to mention the country about Akra, it being so fine and open, like the large corn fields in Wilts and Dorset, and is particularly fertile. This country is in as high a state of cultivation as any on the globe. The same in point of fertility may be said of Whidah, the cloths of which are interwoven

interwoven with such colours, as shew the excellency of various dyes, that must undoubtedly be there.

Character of  
the natives.

Mr. — is of opinion, that on the coast of Africa there must be ample field for the naturalist in the fossil world. He has seen spars which were perfectly transparent, and that would bear the engraving tool as well as the best cornelian. This short account of the productions of Africa he has given, not as founded upon hearsay, but as having come under his own knowledge. To mention every article, and to descant upon the properties and value of each, would take a considerable time, and it would require a volume to contain them. Of the natives it may be sufficient to say, that many of them are inclined to be industrious, that they are excellent workmen, particularly those of Whidah, and have some taste. As a proof of which Mr. — would refer to their cloths, which for their neatness of texture, and the fanciful manner of introducing and working different animals in them, would not discredit any civilized European.

Become  
slaves in con-  
sequence of  
crimes—  
codes of law  
made sub-  
servient to  
the slave  
trade.

Upon examining into the various ways by which the natives of Africa are reduced to a state of slavery, Mr. — was almost universally informed by the black brokers, that crimes constituted one of the ways by which they were doomed to servitude: that the revenue of the kings of the country depended on the sale of slaves, and that they therefore strained every nerve to accuse and to condemn. In consequence of which it was, that their codes of law were made wholly subservient to the slave trade; that every offence, however trivial, was punished with slavery; and that great distinctions were made in crimes, in order that more might suffer: for there were some of such a description, namely, crimes of state, that not only the perpetrator of them was forced into slavery, but his innocent family and relations also.

In conse-  
quence of  
war—wars  
made for the  
purpose of  
getting  
slaves.

A second source, from whence the slave trade derived its continuance and support was universally said to be war, which war appeared to be neither more nor less than publick pillage or robbery. These wars were generally made without any provocation, and for no other purpose than that of getting slaves. The inhabitants of the different villages were perpetually making inroads into the territories of each other, and carrying off all they could meet with, and they were induced to do this, because there were generally ships upon the coast, to take off their hands as many as they could catch and bring. This is all that Mr. — knows upon this subject. He has mentioned crimes, and war or publick robbery, as the two grand sources of supplying the Europeans with slaves, and this was the sole result of his and Commodore —'s inquiries, during the two voyages that they made to the coast together.

Killed, if no  
purchasers  
are to be  
found—  
these mur-  
ders charge-  
able on the  
slave trade.

It appeared during the examination of the different black traders by Commodore — and Mr. —, that it has happened that, when the marauding parties have come down with their booty to the water side, there has been no ship to take them away, and that they have on such an occasion killed their captives. The reason given for such a procedure was, that they would not be at the expence of maintaining them, and that they were unwilling to send them back. These murders, in the opinion of Mr. —, were all chargeable on the slave trade; for if that trade had not existed, the unhappy sufferers would have been unmolested in their several habitations: they would never have been brought down to the coast, and the circumstance of inability or a dislike to support and maintain them, and of unwillingness to send them back, would have never occurred.



It was formerly a custom with the English to prevail on the natives to come on board their vessels under pretence of traffick, and then to weigh anchor, and take them off. This custom has, however, become less frequent than formerly. Mr. — remembers but one instance of it, while the — was upon the coast. Kidnapped by the whites.

Mr. — has been in the West Indies, but Barbadoes is the island where his observations chiefly lay. He has certainly seen instances of treatment to the negroes there that have shocked him much. He has seen old slaves, who were past their labour, turned off to beg in the streets, and to get their living as they could. He has also seen pregnant women, who appeared to be just ready to tumble to pieces, whipped by the drivers to make them keep up with the rest, with the same severity as the men. These were the instances of cruel treatment that particularly struck his attention. He is firmly of opinion, from his knowledge of the Africans in their own country as well as in the colonies, that the planters could do without fresh supplies if they chose, and that the slave trade is totally unnecessary. Old slaves in the colonies turned off, when incapable of labour—pregnant women not exempt from punishment—slave trade unnecessary.

With respect to seamen, there are few instances of fore-mast men, who go voluntarily into the slave trade. They are procured by people called crimps, who seduce them into their houses, entertain them there till in debt, and then in reality sell them to Captains of Guineamen for their discharge. Method of procuring seamen for the slave trade.

When put on board, every species of cruelty that the human imagination can devise is exercised upon them. Several in consequence of their ill treatment swam on board the —, for protection and redress, and when their wages were demanded by the officer, they had either a fictitious bill set against them for clothes and liquor, or, if their wages were acknowledged, they received (as they were to be paid in the West Indies by agreement) currency for sterling. Seamen ill used—are paid in currency.

Every regulation, made by the merchant in the slave trade, appears to be calculated, however specious (as is particularly the case in the instance of currency) to defraud the sailor. The food, which is given to the seamen, is always salt, bad, and of an inferior quality. They are mostly at a very short allowance of water, nor do they even get this without great difficulty. They are obliged to go to the main top to fetch a cup to drink it out of, so that the exertion made use of to obtain it generally increases their thirst, instead of allaying it. Nature and quantity of their provisions—use the gun barrel.

The slave trade destroys an incredible number of seamen annually. The service is of such a nature that the human frame is incapable of sustaining it long. The ill usage, that the seamen experience, contributes not a little to weaken them. Their bad living and scanty diet operate as another cause. Add to this that they are sometimes sent away from the ship for weeks together, and this in an open boat, in which they must be exposed to the inclemency of the weather the whole time. These expeditions always occasion fevers, of which, if they do not immediately die, they seldom or ever recover, or get perfectly well. Loss of them in the slave trade.

Mr. — begs leave to add, that his Majesty's ships, which go to the coast of Africa, as far as his own observation has gone, lose but few seamen. In the —, there were no less than 300 persons, in each of the voyages which Mr. — made, and out of these, three persons only were lost, one of which was the Commodore himself, and the other a midshipman. Loss of them in his Majesty's ships upon the coast.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from a Personal Interview with him there.

No. XXI.

No. XXI.  
Situation &  
qualification  
of the relator  
to give evi-  
dence.

MR. — was three voyages on the coast of Africa, the first on board the —, Captain —, from Liverpool, the second on board the —, Captain —, to Old Calabar, which ship he left there, and went home in the —, Captain —, and the third on board the —, Captain —. His first voyage was made, he believes, in the year 1765.

Expedition  
up Old Ca-  
labar River.  
—The na-  
tives forced  
into slavery  
by robbers  
in the night.

Mr. — having left the — in Old Calabar River, as just stated, was received by the king of New-Town, who to the best of his recollection was called Dick Ebro. He resided with the king for about five months, during which time he had two opportunities of seeing in which way the natives in that quarter were made slaves.

The people, belonging to the king, went during his residence there up the river to trade. They went in a fleet of canoes, to the number of ten or twelve, and took Mr. — with them. In this expedition they called at the villages, as they passed them, in the day-time, and purchased slaves, but in the night made excursions on the banks of the river for the purpose of seizing and bringing off whomsoever they could find. When they came to what they considered to be a proper place, they left an armed party in their canoes, and proceeded with the rest to certain villages, which were inland. On their arrival at these, they rushed into the huts, and seized men, women, and children promiscuously. Mr. — went with them into these huts, and assisted in seizing some of the inhabitants himself. About fifty of them were so seized and carried off at different times in the course of the expedition.

During



During his stay at New Town he was solicited to attend another expedition up the river for the purpose of getting slaves. He complied with the requisition, and saw the same practices in the second as in the first. Between fifty and sixty more of the inhabitants were brought off in the manner before described. Having resided about five months with the king, he left him, and shipped himself on board the ———, Captain ———, as has been stated above.

Second expedition--made slaves of in the same manner.

While he was on board the ———, he saw the following circumstance: Among the slaves brought on board was a little negro girl, about two years old, who came with her mother. She frequently cried, and was sulky. Mr. ———, who had just come to the command on the death of Captain ———, said, on hearing the noise, he would make the child remember. He accordingly rivetted one of her little legs to a small billet of wood. In this situation she crawled about, but cried as frequently as before. On these occasions he would sometimes take her up by one arm, and holding her out, flog her with the other with a cat. Both the legs of the child began in process of time to swell. Upon this he said he would cure them. He accordingly ordered hot boiling water to be brought to him in a bucket. In this water he was going to put the child's legs. The person who brought him the bucket remonstrated with him on this proceeding, alleging that the water was too hot. The wretch however totally disregarded what he had said, and put her legs in that situation into the boiling water. The child shrieked out, as if in the greatest agony, and it appeared on taking her legs out of the water, that the nails of the toes had come off. The child lingered for about two days afterwards, when it died.

Cruelty to a child on board the —.

Mr. ——— says that it is a common practice at Liverpool, to get seamen into debt, in order that the landlords may have them in their power, and be thus enabled to force them to go to Guinea.

Méthod of procuring seamen for the slave trade.

Captain ——— behaved very well to his seamen, but Captains ———, and ———, in as barbarous a manner. The treatment which they experienced at the hand of the former on board the ———, was so very cruel, that Mr. ——— left the ship in Old Calabar River, which gave him an opportunity of seeing the expeditions before mentioned.

Ill used. Loss of them in the slave trade.

Mr. ——— does not recollect the exact mortality in the ships in which he sailed in the slave trade, but remembered the aggregate loss of seamen to have been great.

T H E  
S U B S T A N C E  
O F T H E  
E V I D E N C E  
O F

Taken from a Personal Interview with him.

---

No. XXII.

No. XXII.  
Situation  
and qualifi-  
cation of the  
relator to  
give evi-  
dence.

**M**R. ———, who is a man of remarkable diligence and sobriety, went three voyages from Bristol to the Coast of Africa, the first in the ———, Captain ———, in or about the years 1772 and 1773. The second in the ———, Captain ———, in or about the years 1773 and 1774. And the third in the same ship, commanded by Captain ———, in the years 1774 and 1775. All his voyages were from Bristol to Angola.

Natives of  
Angola con-  
quered by  
the assistance  
of the  
whites, and  
sent into fla-  
very.

Mr. ——— is of opinion, if he may be allowed to judge from one instance, which came under his own knowledge, that the natives of Africa are taken into slavery by force. While the ——— was lying off the Coast of Angola, Captain ———, and some of the principal traders of the continent, held a conference with each other. Immediately after the conference, orders were given for thirty-two of the ———'s crew, properly accoutred with arms and ammunition, to come on shore. In consequence of this they were armed with muskets and cutlasses, and left the vessel. They were joined immediately on their landing, by several of the black people, who were armed also. The white people, conducted by guides, led the way, and continued their route till they came to a plain, in which several black people were drawn up, as if in expectation of an attack. The white people, among whom Mr. ——— was, when they came within a proper distance, were ordered to fire amongst them. They accordingly fired, and expended



expended four rounds, when the black people, drawn up in opposition to them, terrified at their appearance, fled into the woods, but were soon caught by the blacks assisting the Europeans, some of whom, presuming on the success of the white people, had left them, and had run by another way to take possession of such posts, as they thought the others would retire to when vanquished. In consequence of this skirmish, about two hundred were made prisoners, all of whom were disposed of to Captain ———, and taken away from their native country.

Mr. ——— farther says, that in the first voyage which he made in the ———, they took out thirty-six men, and lost seven by death: that in the second voyage, in the ———, they took out thirty men, and lost four, and in the last voyage, in the same ship, they took out twenty-eight, the major part of whom left her at Charlestown, Carolina. The sailors he says, in these voyages, were not improperly treated.

Loss of sea-  
men in the  
different  
voyages.

The first of these is the fact that the  
 Government has been unable to secure  
 the necessary funds to carry out its  
 policy of non-interference in the  
 internal affairs of the country. This  
 has been due to a variety of factors,  
 including the fact that the Government  
 has been unable to secure the necessary  
 funds to carry out its policy of non-  
 interference in the internal affairs of  
 the country. This has been due to a  
 variety of factors, including the fact  
 that the Government has been unable  
 to secure the necessary funds to carry  
 out its policy of non-interference in  
 the internal affairs of the country.

[illegible]



# APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

## CERTAIN ANECDOTES

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

## SLAVE-TRADE.

---

### ANECDOTE I.

**I**N the year 1752, the ——— failed from the port of London to the coast of Africa for slaves. On passing the windward coast, nine of the natives were seen at two different times, four of them at one time, and five at another, employing themselves in fishing. All these were treacherously seized and carried off, their canoes having been previously sunk by orders from the Captain of the ———.

Nine of the natives treacherously taken off from the windward coast.

In this ship the slaves attempted to rise while lying upon the coast, but the ringleader being shot, the rest desisted from their design. One of them, supposed to be an accomplice, was deliberately streaked across the thighs with a razor as a punishment.

The number of the seamen, taken out in the ——— were 28, and of these but eight arrived alive in Jamaica. They were very cruelly used, had no shelter either day or night, and at the port of delivery were obliged to take half their wages in currency instead of sterling.

Loss of seamen—were ill used—have no shelter—paid in currency.

ANECDOTE

## A N E C D O T E II.

A trader from Calabar invited on board the —'s boat, and treacherously taken off.

IN the year 1769 or 1770, the boat of the —, Captain —, then lying in the Cameroons, was sent with the second mate to the island of Fernandipo for yams. At this place was a trader from Calabar, who had been driven there in a gale of wind, and whose canoe had been dashed to pieces against the shore. The trader inquired of the mate, who had just completed his loading, and was going off, to what vessel he belonged. The mate replied to the "Union of Bristol," and that, if he would go with him, he would take him to Calabar. The trader, knowing that the vessel he had mentioned was there, was prevailed upon to go on board, but in a little time perceiving the boat shaping her course to the Cameroons, he became quite uneasy, and convinced at last of the treachery of the mate, would have jumped overboard, had he not been seized and bound. As soon as the boat had reached the —, he was put on board, and was afterwards with the rest of the slaves carried to the West Indies and sold there.

Woman slave jumps overboard

In the same vessel on the Middle Passage a woman slave jumped overboard and was drowned. The Captain came to the resolution of stopping the value of the woman out of the seamen's half pay on their arrival at Grenada (which is frequently a pretence on these occasions) attributing it to their neglect, but they set against the loss of her the value of the man who had been stolen at Fernandipo, which he allowed, and therefore did not encroach upon their pay.

---

## A N E C D O T E III.

Seamen ill used on board the —nature and quantity of their provisions.

ABOUT the same time the —, Captain — lay upon the coast. The seamen were very ill used on board this vessel. The Captain was accustomed, on getting up in the morning, to beat both the seamen and slaves, throwing handspikes at them, and whatever came in his way. The whole allowance of bread for the seamen was only 3 lb. per week, and that of a bad quality.

---

## A N E C D O T E IV.

Loss of seamen on board the —treated

IN or about the year 1771, the — failed from Glasgow to the coast of Africa for slaves. She took out 17 seamen, and lost five. The people were used well, but there were two vessels from Liverpool, one of which was



was the *Matty*, Captain Pemberton, lying there at the same time, in which they were treated in a very barbarous manner. A poor weak fainting sailor was flogged naked with a whip, and others were beaten and kicked about.

well—seamen of the *Matty* barbarously used.

While the same vessel was lying upon the coast, a trader with two of his canoe boys came on board. The same were afterwards invited by Captain Pemberton on board the *Matty*, when he treacherously seized upon them, and carried them away.

A trader and his canoe boys treacherously taken off.

## A N E C D O T E V.

WHEN the *Rainbow* man of war, was on the coast of Africa in or about the years 1771, 2, 3, 4, 5, daily applications were made to the Captain from the seamen in the slave vessels on account of ill usage. There were nearly fifty, who came on board one morning at Cape Coast. Some of these had been used so excessively ill, and were so weary of their lives, that they told the Captain of the *Rainbow*, that if he insisted upon their returning to their respective ships, they would throw themselves overboard. Among these were two, who staid in the man of war, but could get no wages from their Captain, upon which the Captain of the man of war seized two slaves, which he afterwards carried to the West Indies, and sold for the benefit of the two seamen.

Seamen ill treated in the slave trade.

The relator of this anecdote, who was on board the *Rainbow* at the time, has frequently sailed out of Liverpool, and says, that various methods are taken there to procure seamen for the slave trade. There were seven seamen to his own knowledge, who were put into the gaol in Water-street, and detained there till a Guinea-man was about to sail. At another time a sailor was trepanned in the following manner: He had come from Guinea, but the merchant delayed the payment of his wages for a considerable time. He at last paid him, but the expences incurred in waiting for his money amounting to a greater sum than what he had to receive, he was again forced into the slave trade.

Method taken at Liverpool to procure seamen for the slave trade.

## A N E C D O T E VI.

IN or about the year 1773, the ———, Captain ———, sailed from Liverpool to the coast of Africa for slaves. She had five or six mates on board; the first of whom was named ———, and the second ———.

While the long-boat was trading up the river Gaboon, the natives attacked her, and killed the crew, except the surgeon, who commanded her, and a man and a boy, all of whom jumped into a canoe at her stern, and paddled down river.

Crew of the ———'s long-boat cut off by the natives in Gaboon river.

paddled towards the ship. One of the natives, however, threw a lance at them and killed the man, so that only the surgeon and boy escaped. Six people were killed on the occasion.

Twenty of the natives fraudulently taken off from the same river.

The Captain having afterwards recovered the hull of the long-boat and made peace with the natives, continued to trade for about eight months more in the same place. When the ship, however, was ready for sea, he sent his long-boat again up the same river, but under the command of a mate. She returned soon with about twenty slaves, all of whom, by the information of the crew, had been seized and detained when they came to trade. These were brought down to the ship, and were all of them afterwards carried off.

Loss of slaves on board the ———.

When the ——— left the coast, there were about 300 or 350 slaves on board, but when she arrived at Dominique, the port of delivery, about 50 of them only came in alive.

Loss of seamen—ill used.—desert at Dominique.

The crew consisted of 36 on the departure of the vessel from Liverpool 23 of whom were lost before the Middle Passage was finished. The 13 who arrived at Dominique, deserted to a man. This desertion took place in consequence of the ill treatment they met with from Captain ———, who was such a barbarian, and used them in such a manner, that they became quite weary of their lives, and were glad to escape from him the first moment they could.

## A N E C D O T E VII.

Eleven of the natives fraudulently taken off between Annamaboe and Cape Coast.

IN or about the year 1777, while the ———, Captain ———, belonging to the port of London, was lying on the Gold Coast to purchase slaves, the mate and several of the crew waylaid and seized, between Cape Coast and Annamaboe, eleven of the natives by the Captain's orders, and took them off.

In this vessel several of the slaves refused sustenance, and, notwithstanding that thumb-screws were fixed upon them to make them eat, they persisted in their refusal, and died. There were also no less than three insurrections in the course of the voyage, two of them on the coast, and the third on the Middle Passage. In the first, five of the men slaves were killed, and in the second forty-two, but not without the loss of the boatswain of the vessel. In the third there was no bloodshed on either side. More than fifty were additionally lost by death on the Middle Passage.

Seamen ill used on board the ———. Case of one of them.

The seamen on board the ——— were treated by Captain ——— in a very brutal manner. He has made use of ropes of the largest size to punish them. He has beaten and knocked them down with handspikes also. One seaman in particular was felled to the deck, and for no other reason than that he did not assist in heaving up the anchor to the Captain's mind. This person never recovered from the blows which were then given him. He died before the vessel arrived at Martinique (for she was taken by the Rattlesnake privateer and carried there); but before his death repeatedly said he should die of the blows given him by Captain ———. In short, the



the Captain's behaviour was so very cruel, that nine seamen ran away from the ship on the coast of Africa. Nine of them also died.

## A N E C D O T E VIII.

IN the year 1779, the ———, Captain ———, sailed from Liverpool to the Coast of Africa for slaves. She completed her cargo at Cape Coast, and Annamaboe, when she proceeded to sea. She was about ten weeks on the Middle Passage, during which time there did not elapse a day but a slave died.

Captain ——— behaved in a very cruel manner to the seamen on board his vessel. He was accustomed to tie them regularly up and flog them. His behaviour was such, that, on his arrival at Tobago, several of the crew swam away from him in the night. Others were impressed into the King's service, and few, if any, of the seamen on board her, have received their wages to this day. They were also very much stinted in their provisions.

Loss of slaves  
on board the  
———.

Seamen ill  
used—stinted  
in provisions  
—lose their  
pay.

## A N E C D O T E IX.

IN the ———, Captain ———, belonging to Baker and Dawson, of Liverpool, about 700 slaves in the year 1781 were purchased in Bonny River. These were brought on board by the natives in canoes, with their arms tied with ligaments, made of the bark of trees.

Slaves—  
method of  
bringing  
them on  
board at  
Bonny.

There were platforms on board the ———. The slaves were stowed so thick, that there was no interval of room between their bodies, and they suffered so much in consequence of it, that there was nothing but shrieks and yellings the whole night. Nine of the finest of them were all suffocated one night in consequence of this close stowage, and nothing else in the opinion of the surgeon, was the occasion of their deaths.

Close stow-  
age—nine  
suffocated in  
one night.

While the ——— was lying in Bonny River, four of the slaves jumped overboard to free themselves at once from their situation, all of whom were immediately devoured by the sharks. When they came in sight of Hispaniola, another, having found an opportunity, jumped overboard through one of the port holes, and was drowned.

Two of  
them jump  
overboard &  
are lost.

At another time, when the same vessel was lying in Bonny river, the slaves, that had been put on board her, attempted to rise upon the crew. The latter in the conflict wounded three of them; upon which the insurrection ceased. The three who had been so wounded (though their wounds were but very slight) came to the resolution of starving themselves to death.

Rise—three  
wounded—  
starve them-  
selves to  
death.

death. They were accordingly threatened, and at last beaten to make them eat. But no terrors were effectual, for they never tasted any sustenance after their resolution, and they died in consequence of it.

Quantity of  
food and  
water given  
them—lost  
in the pas-  
sage.

The food that was given to the slaves consisted principally of rice and horse beans. Their allowance of water was but one pint per day, which was served out to them at two separate times. The — made a very successful voyage. Not more than 30 or 40 slaves were buried in the Middle Passage, and not more than 30 or 40 were carried to the West Indies in a sickly state.

The seamen on board the — had but three pounds of bread per week, and a quantity of beef per day, totally insufficient to support them, had it been for any length of time. They were never allowed to go between decks during the whole of the Middle Passage, but slept under the booms, or wherever they could lay their heads. Even the officers were turned out of their cabins by the Captain to make room for the slaves. The Captain endeavoured also, on his arrival at Jamaica, to stop 20 shillings from each person, under pretence that a slave had been lost overboard (which slave he should charge to their accounts) though he had never mentioned the circumstance till that time.

The crew of the — were used in a very barbarous manner, that is, they were beaten and kicked about on every trifling occasion, 48 of them sailed from Liverpool, and but three were lost in the voyage; all of whom, in the opinion of the surgeon, died of the ill usage they had received—18 of them deserted on their arrival in Jamaica, and left all their wages, and one of them was in such an ulcerated state, that his leg was afterwards taken off in the hospital at Jamaica.

## A N E C D O T E X.

Several of  
the natives  
fraudulently  
taken off  
from Old  
Calabar  
River.

WHEN Captain —, of the —, of Liverpool, was slaving on the coast of Africa, in the year 1787, he ordered his third mate to take charge of a tender, with sixteen hands, and to go up the river of Old Calabar. His orders were, when he arrived at a certain distance, to sail up and down, and to introduce himself to any of the natives he might see on the shore, and to treat them with rum and molasses, but by no means to molest them the first time, on a presumption, that if they went away uninterrupted and entertained, that they would return in greater numbers the succeeding day, at which time he and his crew were to rush upon them, and carry them away. These orders the mate put into execution. The natives with whom he met, having been treated well, returned as was supposed, without any suspicion of injury, when at an interval in which they appeared to be most occupied, he, with the seamen, drew their cutlasses, and forced them into their boat. This happened several times, and in different parts of the river. One party however of the natives resisted his attempts, but several of them, being much cut and mangled, they were obliged to yield also. The third mate was in this kind of employment for several months, during which time he brought off a very considerable number



ber of the natives, who were distributed on board the ———, and other ships in the same employ. The people of the Pelican, then on the coast, obtained many of their slaves in the same manner.

There were no less than thirteen seamen in the ———, who were com- Method of  
pelled by their landlords to go on board her, on account of debts which procuring  
they had been invited to contract. This is a common method of procur- seamen for  
ing seamen for the slave trade at Liverpool. the ship —.

The seamen on board the ———, were extremely ill treated by Captain Seamen ill  
———, who, upon the most trifling occasions, would knock them down used.  
with ropes, handspikes, or whatever came in his way. Their usage was  
such, that on their arrival in the West-Indies, they applied to the Commo-  
dore on the station, who was so convinced of Captain ———'s tyranny, that  
he said he would write home to get him punished.

The ——— carried out about sixty seamen, and lost but two; but this Loss of them  
is a moderate loss, compared with that which is experienced by Guinea sail- in the —.  
lors, after they are discharged, or desert in the West-Indies. The relator of Situation  
this anecdote, who was on board the ———, and who has been mate of a such as are  
West-Indiaman, and many voyages to that part of the world, has seen put adrift in  
them repeatedly begging and dying in the streets or wharfs. In his last voy- the West In-  
age on board the ———, he saw four of the crew belonging to the Sir dies—Mor-  
Roger Curtis, buried there. In all those voyages which he made in the tality in  
West-India trade, scarcely any seamen were lost. West-India  
trade.

## A N E C D O T E XI.

THE ———, Captain ———, of Liverpool, was at anchor in the River Cameroons about nineteen months, in the years 1787, and 1788.

While she was lying there, the Molly, Captain Bibby, left the coast with Captain  
several pawns, which so exasperated the natives, that they seized and con- Bibby sails  
fined Captain ———, and others, threatening not to release them till they off with  
should be brought back. Captain ———, however, was in a little time pawns—is  
taken out of their possession by means of an armed force. While these pursued—  
things were going on, two mates, four people, one of the natives, and five result of it.  
slaves, were sent after Captain Bibby, in the long boat, to the island of St.  
Thomas, to redeem the king's son and four of the sons of the principal  
traders, and to bring them back. The boat, however, was upset, the two  
mates were drowned, and the rest got on shore at Melimba. Several of  
the hostages were afterwards brought back from Dominique by Captain  
Fisher, but the natives would not redeem them with the goods left in their  
possession, and they were again carried to Dominique, and there sold.

The slaves, purchased on board the ———, were in general purchased at Medium of  
the following rates, a man, or a man-boy, for about 52 bars; a boy for 26; exchange,  
a woman for 47, and a girl for 26. A bar was estimated at five shillings. and value of  
A keg of powder was equivalent to 1 bar, a musket to 3, a brass pan to 3, slaves at the  
a romal to 3, and a keg of spirits to 6 bars. Cameroons.

Slaves on board the — attempt to rise—refuse sustenance—attempt to throw themselves overboard—a woman mad.

Time and nature of their meals—compelled to dance by the cat.

The slaves on board the — once attempted to rise, but were discovered in time, and two knives concealed by them were found. There was a guard regularly under arms for twelve months, for fear of an insurrection. Some refused to eat, and were flogged to compel them to it; others attempted to throw themselves overboard, and one woman went mad.

They were usually brought upon deck at eight o'clock in the morning, where they remained till four in the afternoon. They had two meals per day, namely, at ten, and at half past three. These consisted of rice, beans, yams, peas, plantains, frian, and cocoa nuts. At each meal they were served with a pint of water. During their stay upon deck, they were made to dance, or take exercise by means of the cat.

Loss of them on board the —.

The — was of about 300 tons burthen, and left the coast with 300 slaves, out of which 130 were buried. This was principally occasioned by the small-pox, which they caught at the Island of St. Thomas.

Seamen—quantity and quality of their provisions—use the gun barrel—have no shelter—loss of them on board the —.

The seamen on board the — had but half a pound of beef per day, and for nine months one quarter of a pound only. No liquor was allowed them on the coast, or on the Middle Passage. They had as much water as they chose, but were obliged to drink it through a gun barrel. They always slept on deck, and were never permitted on any pretence to go below. This bad living, and this constant exposure, brought on intermittents and the flux. When sick, they were treated poorly, little or no attention being paid to them on such occasions. Out of thirty-nine seamen and officers, thirty perished in the course of the voyage.

Ill used.

They were very ill used. It is customary with the officers to carry cats, and to sleep with them under their heads. With these they beat them on every trivial occasion. They were also knocked down with handspikes, and were treated, in other ways, in a very barbarous manner.

Situation of such as are put adrift in the West-Indies—sickly sailor—left behind in Africa.

Profit of the slave trade.

When the — arrived in the West-Indies, there were several Guinea seamen begging in the islands, in the extremity of disease and distress. Many of them had shocking ulcers upon their legs. It frequently happens, that those who desert perish. Captain — left one sickly seaman behind him in Africa.

The avarice, cruelty, and injustice of the Captain were great, and a principal reason of the — making a bad voyage. Nearly 5000*l.* was reported to be sunk in the course of it.



## A N E C D O T E XII.

IN the month of November 1788, the —, Capt. — arrived at Brisl- Slaves —  
tol, from a voyage to the coast of Africa. She sailed from Bonny river Loss of them  
with 423 slaves, and lost 70 before her arrival at Buenos Ayres. Four of on board the  
them jumped overboard at sea. —, four jump  
overboard.

The Captain behaved not amiss to the seamen, but the chief mate used Seamen ill  
them in a very cruel manner. Eight white people were lost in the voyage. used.

## A N E C D O T E XIII.

Soon after this vessel the — Capt. — arrived at the same port. Slaves —  
She sailed with 420 from the coast, but carried 300 only to St. Vincents, Loss of them  
the place of sale. on board the  
—

Several of them refused sustenance, but were compelled to eat by means Refuse suste-  
of the cat. The same instrument also was exercised upon them to com- nance —  
pel them to take exercise. This exercise was called dancing. Compelled  
to dance by  
the cat.

The seamen were beaten about by their officers, both with the butt end Seamen ill  
of the cat, and with their fists. Their allowance of provisions was very used—Na-  
short, three pounds only of bread per week being given them. Five of ture and  
them were lost in the course of the voyage. There was one in a sickly quantity of  
state, who lived till the vessel came into Kingroad, but died as he was their provi-  
coming from thence in the boat to Bristol. Three or four of the crew, sions—Fatal  
who came home, had ulcerated legs, and must have been rendered un- effects of the  
serviceable for some time. trade upon  
such as re-  
turn home.

## A N E C D O T E XIV.

On the 5th of January 1789 the —, Captain —, came into King- Slaves —  
road from Buenos Ayres, at which place she had been selling her slaves. Loss of them  
She purchased 421, and lost 73 before her arrival there. on board the  
—

Many of the slaves refused to eat, but they were invariably flogged to Refuse suste-  
compel them. They were also compelled to dance by the use of a cat nance —  
of nine tails, which was applied to such as appeared to be either inactive, Compelled  
or averse to it. the cat.

The

**Seamen —** The allowance of the seamen was five pounds of bread per week, and nature and quantity of their provisions — barbarously used — about one pound of beef or pork per day. They were treated by the Captain in such a brutal manner as few, who had not been on board at the time, would believe. They were kicked and beaten about, struck with an iron bar, or whatever weapon presented itself first, and were put into irons. Twenty-one of them died in the course of the voyage.

**—** While the — lay in Bonny River, there were several other vessels lying there. Among these were the Golden Age, and the Eliza, both belonging to Liverpool.

**Slaves rise in the former —** In the former the slaves attempted to rise, but were fired upon by the crew, as well as the crews of other ships, and were therefore soon quelled. **quelled —** Five of the insurgents were killed, who lay till the insurrection was over upon the deck, during which time the hogs which were on board tore and fed upon their flesh. **singular method used for the purpose.** Besides the firing, a singular method was taken to hinder them from accomplishing their design. Cinders were pounded and mixed with pepper and thrown into the eyes of all such as were coming forward, that they might not be able to see to complete their scheme.

**Loss of seamen in the latter.** The latter sailed from Bonny River with about 700 slaves, but had only twenty-one white people on board at the time. This vessel must evidently have lost between twenty and thirty men.

**Slaves jump overboard —** In almost all the ships in Bonny River, there were slaves who contrived to jump overboard. It was a common practice.

**a common practice.** Some Bonny traders, being questioned as to the mode of procuring slaves, **Bonny traders answer to a question on the method of procuring slaves.** replied, "that it was customary with them to go every moon to the fairs; that they burned the houses of such on their way as they could come upon by surprise, and took all the inhabitants they could catch; that they carried these to the fairs, where they completed by purchase the remaining part of their cargoes, and that they then returned with the whole of them to Bonny, that the inland traders (i. e.) those whom they met at the fairs made use of the same practices; and that when they had collected a number, they brought them down, and waited till the traders from Bonny met them. This was the way, in which they got their slaves."

F I N I S.

I N D E X.



# I N D E X.

**A**BOLITION of the slave trade would put an end to many enormities in Africa, page 105.

**ACKRA** (country about it) in high cultivation, 119.

**AFRICA**, productions of, 42, 49, 61, 62, 68, 69, 100, 107, 108, 119, 120.

— Natives of, their ingenuity—would soon relish a new commerce, 42, 50, 62, 69, 100, 101, 102, 109, 120.

— intoxicated, so lay them open to imposition, 71, 116.

— their attachment to their country, 101, 105.

Allowance of food to slaves in the colonies, 54, 65.

Apollonia Cape—its fertility, 119.

Arms furnished to the Africans by the Europeans, 62.

Arms furnished by the Europeans to the Africans, while at war with one another, 63.

## B.

Barbessin's, king of, military, 112.—he visits the French embassy, 113—is tempted to pillage—second visit—his reply, 113—is again urged and consents, 114.

Bills for the purchase of slaves, — date of, 48.

Boy killed at a great man's funeral, 52.

Boy and girl slaves, many on board, 34.

## C

**CAPTAINS** (Guinea) leave letters of recommendation with black traders, 23.

Cat-o-nine-tails, inlaid with wire, 37.

— used to make the slaves stow themselves close, 64.

Certificate of T. Symons, 11.

Children (in Africa) separated from their mothers when too young to travel, 110.

Children, without relations, on board the slave ships, 43, 62, 70.

Child—cruelty to one on board, 123.

Children of slaves neglected in the colonies, 55.

Cloathing of slaves in the colonies, 54, 66, 89, &c.

Cotton (white) on the coast of Africa, 49, 100, 107, 119.

— (nankeen) 107.

— (pink) 119.

Crimes a source of slavery, 13, 43, 50, 69, 120.

Crimes falsely imputed, 69.

## D.

**DEBT**, a source of slavery, 13, 43, 69.

Decrease of slaves in the colonies—the cause of it, 55, 66, 92.

Dyes, excellent, 120—see Africa—productions of

## E.

**ESTATE**, that wants no new negroes, 66.

Europeans supply the Africans with arms, 62.—also while at war with one another, 63, 114—assist the blacks in predatory expeditions, 124—intoxicate the king of Barbessin, with a view of getting slaves, 116 — also the natives to make them sell their slaves, 71.

Execution of slaves in the West-Indies, by gibbeting or burning them alive, 66, 91.

Expeditions—of a predatory kind, 11, 18, 22, 62, 63, 70, 98, 110, 111, 112, 114, 120, 122, 136.

Exchange, medium of, on different parts of the coast, 36, 44, 64, 74, 133.

## F.

**FAIRS** for slaves in the interior country, 73, 136.

Food

# I N D E X

Food, allowance of, to slaves, in the colonies, 65.

Force, great bulk of the slaves procured by, 33, 50, &c.

Frauds practised by the Europeans, 23, 71, 116.

## G.

**GAMBIA**—Face of the country about it, 101.

— Its fertility, 119.

Gibbetting slaves alive, 66, 91.

Good treatment, instances of, 55, 92, 95, &c.

Grandeers carried off the coast—their cruel treatment and hardships, 6, 7, 8, 9.

## H.

**HOGS** tear the flesh of dying negroes, 84.

## I.

**INDIGO** in Africa, 49, 107, 119.

## K.

**KIDNAPPING** practised by the natives, 13, 26, 30, 43, 50, 62, 69, 98, 110, 115—by the Europeans, 23, 51, 71, 100, 115, 121, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, &c.

Kidnapper and kidnapped in the same vessel, 27, 115.

Kings (African) sell their people if they disoblige them, 22, 31—use pretences for that purpose, 102.

King Warry blown up, 32.

## L

**LABOUR** of the slaves,—its nature, method, and duration in the colonies, page 54, 66, 88, 91.

Land assigned to the slaves in the colonies, but taken away when cleared, 65.

Law, (African codes of) made subservient to the slave trade, 120.

Long boat belonging to a slave vessel cut off, 129.

## M

**MARRIAGE** of slaves neglected in the colonies, page 55.

Men slaves put in irons, 14, 19, 23, 31, 36, 44, 52, 64, 74.

Middle Passage, length of it, 14, 45, 76.

Mortality of slaves dreadful, 84.

Mana, descent on the village of, by the Europeans, 51.

## O

**OLD CALABAR**, dreadful consequences of a quarrel among the natives as inflamed by the English, 1, 2, 4, et seq. Officers of Guinea-men boast of having stolen the natives, 13.

## P

**PAWNS** taken off the coast, 19, 36, 51, 72, 133.

Picking grafts, 54, 94.

Pillage, shocking situation of slaves taken by means of it, 112.

Piratical expeditions, termed war, 12, 62, 70, 114, 120.

Platforms, 36.

Preparation against insurrections, 15, 20.

Poison given to slaves on the Middle Passage, 116.

Prisoners exchanged and not sold, 43.

Profit of the slave trade, 80, 117, 134.

Punishment (of slaves) in the colonies inhuman, 55, 66, 77, 85, 89, 91, 93.

## R

**RELATIONS** in the same ship, 15, 23, 32, 53, 70.

Relations separated at the time of sale, 16, 46, 54, 65, 88.

Robbers, 99, 110, notorious ones, 34, 111.

Robbery, a source of the slave trade, 26, 43, 69, 98, 120, 122, &c.

Rooms for the slaves on board height of, 14, 20, 31, 52, 75.

Runaway slaves, 92.

## S

**SEAMEN** procured by crimps, 16, 20, 24, 27, 38, 47, 56, 66, 78, 82, 85, 121, 123, 129, 133.

—, their allowance of water, 82.

—, how gotten rid of in the West Indies, 17, 21, 79, 130.

— neglected and abused when sick, 16, 39, 47, 56, 78, 82, 86.

—, their chests burnt, 20, 24.

—, their bedding thrown overboard, 56.

— paid in currency, 3, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32, 38, 56, 67, 79, 121, 127.

— lose their pay, 131.

—, nature and quantity of their food, 3, 16, 20, 24, 27, 32, 38, 47, 56, 67, 78, 82, 85, 121, 128, 131, 134, 135, 136.

— use the gun-barrel, 16, 21, 24, 27, 32, 38, 47, 56, 67, 78, 121, 134.

— have



Seamen have no shelter, 3, 16, 21, 24, 28, 38, 47, 56, 67, 78, 82, 127, 134.  
 —, cruel treatment of, 16, 21, 24, 28, 38, et seq. 47, 56, et seq. 67, 79, 82, 86, 121, 123, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136.  
 —, jump overboard in consequence of it, 57, 121.  
 —, cruel treatment and death of, 28, 39, 40, 57, 58, 59, 130.  
 —, good treatment of, 25, 32, 83, 125.  
 —, lost in different voyages, 3, 17, 25, 29, 32, 40, 47, 59, 67, 79, 83, 86, 121, 123, 125, 127, 128, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136.  
 —, turned adrift at the port of delivery—fate of many of them there—17, 21, 25, 29, 32, 41, 47, 59, 67, 80, 83, 86, 89, 92, 96, 97, 133, 134.  
 —, well used in other trades, 59.  
 —, nature and quantity of their food in other trades, 59, 87.  
 —, few lost in the West India trade, 32, 87, 92, 133.  
 —, number lost in the King's ships on the Coast of Africa, 100, 105, 121.  
 —, worse used and accommodated in the English slave ships than in the French, 67.  
 Sick Birth or Hospital, 15, 45, 64, 75.  
 Sierra Leona, Country about it fertile, 119.

SLAVES, (in Africa) their employment, 35, 43, 51, 63, 70.  
 —, well used by their masters, who are attached to them, 35, 43, 71.  
 —, put to death at the funerals of persons of distinction, 63, 72, 81.  
 —, how brought down to the coast, and to the vessels, 13, 14, 31, 35, 43, 51, 63, 73, 74, 131.  
 Many boys and girls on board, 34.  
 Slaves examined previous to the purchase, 14, 36, 43, 52, 64, 74.  
 —, sickly refused, 14, 36, 43, 74.  
 —, few with wounds, 26, 34, 43, 50, 63, 70.  
 —, look dejected when brought on board, 14, 23, 31, 36, 44, 52, 64.  
 —, so unwilling to leave their country, as to be obliged to be put forcibly into the boats, 50.  
 —, their value on different parts of the coast, 44, 64, 74, 133.  
 —, crowded on board ship, 14, 52.  
 —, crowded and made to stow close by the cat-of-nine-tails, 64.  
 —, method of stowing them, 14.  
 —, those refused by the Europeans, seldom or ever destroyed—their fate, 73.  
 —, if destroyed, it is mostly at the funeral of a great man, ib.

—, if otherwise, the murder of them is to be charged to the slave trade, 120.  
 —, men put into irons, 14, 19, 23, 31, 44, 52, 64, 74.  
 —, attacked by the small pox while on board ship, dreadful situation and consequences of it, 15, 38, 134.  
 —, time and nature of their meals, 14, 20, 27, 31, 36, 45, 53, 65, 76, 132, 134.  
 —, compelled to dance, 14, 20, 32, 36, 44, 53, 134, 135.  
 —, dance without compulsion, 65, 76.  
 —, sing—the subject of their songs, 20, 53, 65, 76.  
 —, dreadful situation, on account of heat, 14, 20, 36, 52, 64, 75, 82.  
 —, nine of them suffocated in one night, 131.  
 —, ill-treated and flogged out of wantonness, 27, 37.  
 —, become desperate, 23.  
 —, rush to leeward to sink the vessel, 23.  
 —, go mad, 15, 54, 90, 134.  
 —, ironed and flogged while mad, 54.  
 —, frequently rise, 15, 19, 20, 23, 31, 37, 45, 53, 127, 134, 136.  
 —, ringleaders punished, 24, 37, 127.  
 —, thumb-screws applied to discover the ring-leader, 53.  
 —, punished for refusing medicines, 52.  
 —, mouths wrenched open, 52.  
 —, refuse sustenance, 23, 31, 53, 65, 76, 134, 135.  
 —, punished on that account, 23, 53, 65, 76.  
 —, their mouths wrenched open, 53, 65.  
 —, starve themselves to death, 23, 50, 131.  
 —, attempt to jump overboard, 53, 65, 134.  
 —, jump overboard, 15, 37, 128, 131, 135, 136.  
 —, tortured with thumb screws on very trivial occasions, 27, 37.  
 —, determination of certain English captains to throw their slaves overboard alive, but are prevented, 14.  
 —, one actually thrown overboard alive, 75.  
 —, number purchased and lost in the different voyages, 3, 15, 27, 31, 38, 45, 52, 65, 76, 82, 117, 130, 131, 134, 135.  
 —, sold, among other ways, by scramble, 16, 46.  
 —, in a way nearly similar to the scramble, 77.  
 —, prepared for sale, 45, 54, 65, 76.  
 —, refuse and sickly, how disposed of, 16, 45, 54, 65, 76.  
 —, purchased on speculation, 89.  
 —, branded,

— branded, 77, 90.  
 — ill used at Porto Rico, 3.  
 — barbarously used in the British islands, 46, 54, 66, 77, 85, 89, 91, 93, 94.  
 — few without marks of violence, or the lash, 55, 66, 77, 89, 91, 94.  
 — turned off without support when incapable of labour, 85, 89, 95, 121.  
 — have their arms torn off by the mill, 66.  
 — ingenious and tractable, 95.  
 — little care taken of them when sick, 90.  
 — are sometimes seen working in chains, or with iron instruments upon their necks, or logs of wood fastened to them, 54, 91.  
 — pick grass—a laborious employment, and often the occasion of punishment, 54, 94.  
 — decrease in the colonies—to what causes to be attributed, 55, 66, 92.  
 — well used on some estates, and the advantages of it, 55, 66, 92, 95.  
 Slavery in Africa not nearly so grievous as in the West-Indies, 35, 43, 51, 63, 71.  
 Slave ships, tonnage of, 27, 31, 44, 65.  
 — blown up, 32.  
 — cut off, 15, 72, 115.  
 — leave the coast in the night, and why, 19, 44, 75.  
 Slave Trade—abolition of it would put an end to many enormities in Africa, 105, 116.  
 — hardens the heart, 105, 115.  
 — profit of it, 80, 117, 134.  
 — fatal effects of it on seamen who return home, 86, 135.  
 — chargeable with the murder of those slaves who are killed because no purchasers are to be found for them, 120.  
 — unnecessary, 66, 92, 121.  
 Shallops crew cut off, 58.  
 Surgeons, ignorance of some in the slave trade, and their brutal behaviour to the slaves, 75.

T.

THUMB-SCREWS applied to slaves, 23, 27, 37, 53.

Thumbs rot off in consequence, and the slaves die, 37.  
 Traders trusted with goods, 36, 44, 63, &c.  
 — expert at calculation, and speak different languages, 13, 36, 43, 63.  
 Trader, answer of a Bonny trader as to the mode of procuring slaves, 136.  
 Treachery, bulk of the slaves procured by it, 18, 22, 33, 43, 50, 62, 98, 111.

V.

VALUE of different commodities, 44, 64, 74, 133.  
 — of a slave, 44, 64, 74, 133.  
 Ventilators, 14.

W.

WAR a source of slavery, 12, 50, 81, 120.  
 Wars made for the purpose of getting slaves, 120.  
 Wars—piratical expeditions termed such, 12, 62, 70, 114, 120.  
 War—natives in the course of one supplied with ammunition by the Europeans, 63.  
 War stops trade, 43.  
 Water of the slaves obliged to be shortened on the passage, 45.  
 Whidah, fertility of it, 119.  
 Windsails, 36, 45.  
 Woman young, tempted by European merchandize, sells her sister, 62.  
 Women slaves jump overboard, 15, 37, 128.  
 — prostitute themselves, to maintain their masters, 55.  
 — pregnant, not exempt from punishment, 121.  
 — lying in neglected in the colonies, 55.  
 Work, time and nature of it in the colonies, 54, 66, 88, 91.  
 Wounded slaves, few or none brought on board for sale, 26, 34, 43, 50, 63, 70.  
 Wounded, limbs of shewn as trophies of war, in Africa, 12, 181.